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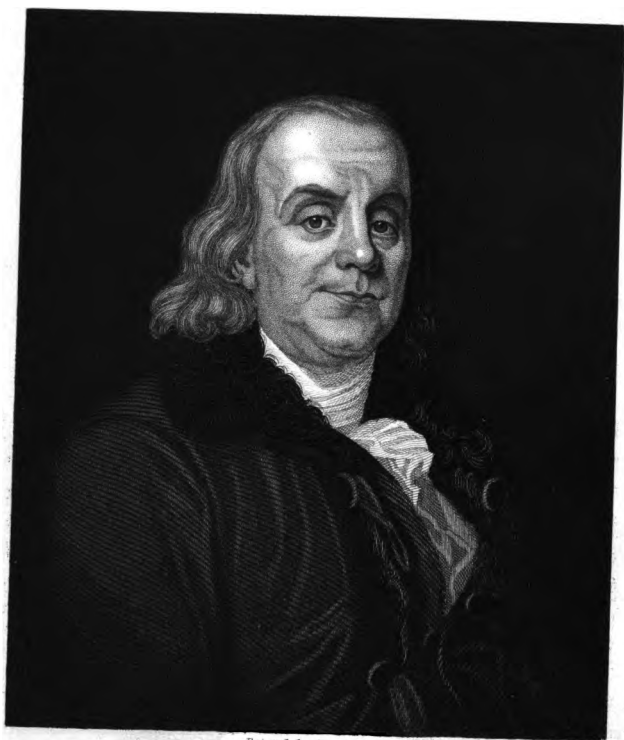












*Painted by Duplessis*

*Benjamin Franklin*

THE LIFE  
OF  
GENERAL WASHINGTON



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1867





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THE  
L I F E  
OF  
GENERAL WASHINGTON,  
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,  
COMPRISING  
HIS MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE,  
AS PREPARED BY HIM FOR PUBLICATION,  
INCLUDING  
SEVERAL ORIGINAL LETTERS NOW FIRST PRINTED.

EDITED BY  
*Charles Wentworth*  
THE REV. C. W. UPHAM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# LIFE OF WASHINGTON.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### *Campaign of 1781.*

THE Revolutionary War was now fast approaching its crisis. The union between the French and American armies was complete, and both parties felt that the opening season could not fail to bring with it decisive events and results. And so it proved. What were the plans of operation of the British Commanders, it is difficult to determine, with positiveness. It seems to have been their chief aim, to divide the forces, and distract the attention, of the American Commander-in-chief, by simultaneous, vigorous invasions and movements, in different and distant parts of the country. It was the purpose of Washington, to call forth the energies of the Colonies to the utmost possible extent, to meet and withstand the enemy, wherever he might show himself; but, while he sought to do this, at the same time he resolved to strike some signal blow, by concentrating as large a force as could be spared from other assailed or assailable points, and, by utterly overwhelming one of the larger divisions of the British army, bring the war to a close. The following extracts from a letter, addressed by Washington to General Knox, show the views of the Commanders of the American and French allied armies, in entering upon the campaign of 1781.

“SIR,—In the conference between Count de Rochambeau and myself, it was agreed, that, if, by the aid of our allies, we can have a naval superiority through the next campaign, and an army of thirty thousand men, or

double the force of the enemy at New York and its dependencies, early enough in the season to operate in that quarter, we ought to prefer it to every other object, as the most important and decisive. And applications have been made to the court of France, in this spirit, which, it is to be hoped, will produce the desired effect.

“ I give you this communication of what is in prospect, that you may take your measures accordingly, by making such estimates, demands, and other arrangements, as may appear to you best calculated to produce what we want. And you may rely upon all the assistance and support, it will be in my power to give. In your calculations, you will estimate the force on our side at about twenty thousand men. The remainder, with a proportionate field and siege apparatus, are to be supposed to be furnished by our allies. You are well acquainted with New York, and its defences, and you can, therefore, judge of the means requisite for its reduction by a siege.

“ The general idea of the plan of operations, if we are able to procure the force we count upon, is, to make two attacks ; one against the works on York Island, and the other against the works of Brooklyn, on Long Island. The latter will, probably, be conducted by our allies. Ulterior operations must depend on circumstances. If we should find ourselves unable to undertake this more capital expedition, and if we have means equal to it, we shall attempt, as a secondary object, the reduction of Charleston ; and Savannah, Penobscot, and other places, may come successively into contemplation. Your dispositions will refer to these different objects ; though, indeed, a preparation for the principal one will substantially comprehend the less.”

In the meanwhile, circumstances seemed to favor an attempt to concentrate a sufficient land and naval force in Virginia, and in the Chesapeake, to surround and cut off General Arnold, who was operating, at the head of a British force, in that quarter. It was natural, that a very strong desire should have been cherished to get possession of Arnold ; and, in making arrangements to this end, some delay was interposed to a meeting, which had been agreed

upon, of the American and French Commanders, at New port, in Rhode Island. Washington thus writes to Count de Rochambeau, on the 19th of February, 1781

“The destruction of the corps, under the command of Arnold, is of such immense importance to the welfare of the southern States, that I have resolved to attempt it, with the detachment I now send, in conjunction with the militia, even if it should not be convenient for your Excellency to detach a part of your force, provided M. Destouches is able to protect our operation, by such a disposition of his fleet, as will give us the command of the Bay, and prevent succors being sent from New York. By a letter I have just received from Baron Steuben, who commands in Virginia, it appears we may expect every thing, from the temper of the militia, of which militia are capable ; but an additional regular force to that I am sending would, no doubt, make the success much more prompt and certain.”

These measures did not meet with the desired success. The French squadron, despatched to the Chesapeake, after having attempted, in vain, to reach Arnold, put to sea, and returned to Newport. The attention of Washington continued to be fixed upon his favorite project of an attack upon New York, as appears from the following passage of a letter to the President of Congress.

“Upon General Knox’s return from the eastward, I desired him to form an estimate of the artillery and ordnance stores, necessary for an operation upon the largest scale, which would be that against New York. He has accordingly furnished one, a copy of which I do myself the honor to enclose, for the information of Congress, that application may be made, in time, to the States possessed of the heaviest cannon, for the loan of them, and other stores, should they be wanted, and that directions may be given to the Board of War, and those Boards whose business it is to provide ammunition and other articles, to endeavor to procure the deficiency of the estimate. We ought, without doubt, to be prepared for an operation against New York. Should circumstances make it requisite to lessen the object, the overplus stores would,



nevertheless, form not only a valuable magazine, but such a one as we ought ever to have in reserve. The impossibility of crossing the North River with horses, and some unforeseen business, have hitherto prevented my journey to Newport, and make the time of my setting out precarious."

The following extract is from a letter, written by Washington to Count de Rochambeau, Feb. 24.

"The flattering distinction, paid to the anniversary of my birthday, is an honor, for which I dare not attempt to express my gratitude. I confide in your Excellency's sensibility, to interpret my feelings for this, and for the obliging manner in which you are pleased to announce it. The measures we have been taking for the expedition to Virginia will delay, some time, my visit to Rhode Island. I wait to see, whether Sir Henry Clinton may form any new projects in consequence. When this is ascertained, and the additional precautions we are taking for security here are completed, I shall yield to my impatience for testifying, personally, my attachment to your Excellency and your army."

On the 1st March, Washington writes to Lafayette, thus:

"MY DEAR MARQUIS,—I have just received letters from the Count de Rochambeau, and the Chevalier Destouches, informing me of their intention to operate in the Chesapeake Bay, with their whole fleet, and a detachment of eleven hundred French troops, grenadiers and chasseurs included. The Chevalier expects to sail, the 5th of this month, so that you will arrive at the Head of Elk, before he appears in the Bay.

"The Count de Rochambeau requests me to send an aid-de-camp to the commanding officer in Virginia, to assemble the militia, and have every thing else ready against the arrival of the fleet. You know all the necessary directions have been given; but, to gratify the Count, I am to desire you will send Colonel Gouvion, without delay, to Baron Steuben, to communicate this latter intelligence, and press the preparations, directing the Baron, on the arrival of the French troops, to enter, immediately, into their views. You know the infi-

nite value of secrecy in an expedition circumstanced like this. The Baron de Viomenil will command the French detachment. I shall set out in the morning for Rhode Island, where I hope to arrive before the fleet sails, to level all difficulties and be in the way to improve circumstances.

“ Since writing the above, I have received a letter from General Greene, by which it appears, that Cornwallis, with twenty-five hundred men, was penetrating the country with very great rapidity, and Greene, with a much inferior force, retiring before him, having determined to pass the Roanoke. This intelligence, and an apprehension that Arnold may make his escape before the fleet can arrive in the Bay, induces me to give you greater latitude than you had in your original instructions. You are at liberty to concert a plan with the French general and naval commander for a descent into North Carolina, to cut off the detachment of the enemy which had ascended Cape Fear River, intercept if possible Cornwallis, and relieve General Greene and the southern States. This, however, I think ought to be a secondary object, and only attempted in case of Arnold’s retreat to New York, or in case you should think his reduction would be attended with too much delay, and that the other enterprise would be more easy, and, from circumstances, more necessary. There should be strong reasons to induce a change of our first plan against Arnold, if he is still in Virginia. With a view to the second enterprise, you must be making your arrangement for transportation and supplies, and must endeavor to gain all the information you can about the country, which may be the scene of your operations.

“ Continuing your march, after the fleet has withdrawn itself from the Bay, may excite suspicions of their intended return. You can cover your design by saying you are going to the assistance of General Greene. You will remember, that your corps is a part of this army, and will let this idea have proper weight in your determinations. I am, &c.”

The interview between Washington and the French commanders at Newport was made the occasion of an interesting expression of the sentiments of confidence and good-will which existed between the allied powers, and also of the feelings of joy, gratitude, and pride with which their presence was contemplated by the inhabitants of Rhode Island in general, and Newport in particular. An address was delivered to Washington by the citizens of that place, to which he replied as follows :

*“ To Christopher Ellery, William Channing, William Taggart, Solomon Southwick, and others, inhabitants of Newport.*

*“ March, 1781.*

“ GENTLEMEN,—Among the distinguished honors, which have a claim to my gratitude since my arrival, I have seen with peculiar satisfaction those effusions of esteem and attachment, which have manifested themselves in the citizens of this ancient town. My happiness is complete in a moment that unites the expressions of their sentiments for me with their suffrages in favor of our allies. The conduct of the French army and fleet, of which the inhabitants testify so grateful and so affectionate a sense, at the same time that it evinces the wisdom of the commanders and the discipline of the troops, is a new proof of the magnanimity of the nation. It is a further demonstration of that generous zeal and concern for the happiness of America, which brought them to our assistance, a happy presage of future harmony, a pleasing evidence that an intercourse between the two nations will more and more cement the union, by the solid and lasting ties of mutual affection.

“ I sincerely sympathize with you, gentlemen, in lamenting the depredations suffered by the town while in possession of the enemy, and heartily join you in those liberal wishes, the accomplishment of which would soon more than restore it to its former flourishing condition.

“ Accept my acknowledgements for the polite and obliging manner, in which you have been pleased to communicate to me the sentiments of your fellow-citizens,

and the assurances of my warmest esteem for them and for you personally. I am, gentlemen, &c."

There was a splendid military exhibition on the occasion. When Washington landed with his suite, at the end of Long-wharf, he was received by the French commanders, at the head of seven thousand troops. It was a brilliant and imposing spectacle. An aged person now living (1839) gives the following glowing description of the pageant :

"I never felt the solid earth tremble under me before. The firing from the French ships, that lined the harbor, was tremendous ; it was one continued roar, and looked as though the very river was on fire.

"Never will the scene be erased from my memory. The attitude of the nobles, their deep obeisance, the lifting of hats and caps, the waving of standards, the sea of plumes, the long line of French soldiers, and the general disposition of their arms, unique to us, separating to the right and left, the Chief, with Count Rochambeau on his left, unbonneted, walked through. The French nobles, commanders, and their under officers followed in the walk. Count Rochambeau was a small, keen-looking man, not handsome, as was his son, afterwards Governor of Martinico. Count Noailles looked like, what he was, a great man. He made a noble appearance there, as did also a Prussian Baron and Polish Count, officers of high standing in the army, who walked next. But the resplendent beauty of the two Viomenils eclipsed all the rest. They were brothers, and one of them a general in the army, who bore the title of Count too. Newport never saw any thing so handsome as those two young brothers.

"I thought, as the breeze of morning lifted the shining curls from the fair forehead of the elder Viomenil, and discovered the sparkling eyes and blooming cheeks, and wonderfully fine mouth, that nothing could surpass him ; but when I looked at his brother I was puzzled to tell which was the handsomest. Both were of commanding height and well proportioned, as were very many of those who accompanied them. But we the populace were the

only ones that looked at them, for the eye of every Frenchman was directed to Washington.

“Calm and unmoved by all the honors that surrounded him, the voice of adulation nor the din of battle had never disturbed the equanimity of his deportment. Ever dignified, he wore on this day the same saint-like expression that always characterized him. There were other officers too, of inferior grade, that followed, and I afterwards saw them all on horseback, but they did not sit on a horse like Washington.

“They proceeded to the Court or State House, and from thence to the lodgings of Count Rochambeau, down what is now called Spring-street, preceded by the ‘Pioneers,’ a company armed only with axes, held up straight before their faces, with the edge outwards. It was amusing to see how far these fellows would roll their eyes to catch a glimpse of Washington, for they dared as well die as turn their heads one inch.”

The aged writer of the foregoing description concludes his enthusiastic narrative by declaring that it was “a proud day for Newport.”\*

\*Biographies of General Barton and Captain Olney, by Mrs. Williams of Providence, p. 307.—Another venerable witness bears a similar testimony in reference to the impression made by Washington’s appearance on this occasion. The Hon. Asher Robbins was a spectator of the scene. The circumstances which led him to allude to it are explained in the following article from the *National Intelligencer*. The whole of Mr. Robbins’s speech is here given, as it not only illustrates the feeling which was excited by Washington’s presence and appearance at Newport, but confirms, in general, the views, given of his character and person, in this biography.

#### “THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.

“The beautiful effusion which the reader will find below, is the production of the chaste and classic mind of the late venerable and distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. Robbins, and was occasioned by the following circumstances : During the session of 1837–8, Mr. Webster entertained a large party of friends at dinner ; among them, the venerable Senator we have named. The evening passed off with much hilarity, enlivened with wit and sentiment ; but, during the greater part of the time, Mr. Robbins maintained that grave but placid silence which was his habit. While thus apparently abstracted, some one suddenly called on him for a toast, which call was seconded by the company. He rose, and in his surprise asked if

*" To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

"Newport, ten o'clock, P. M., 8 March, 1781.

"DEAR MARQUIS,—I have the pleasure to inform you, that the whole fleet went out with a fair wind this

they were serious in making such a demand of so old a man ; and being assured that they were, he said, if they would suspend their hilarity for a few moments, he would give them a toast, and preface it with a few observations. Having thus secured a breathless stillness, he went on to remark, that they were then on the verge of the 22d of February, the anniversary of the birth of the great patriot and statesman of our country, whom all delighted to remember and to honor ; and he hoped he might be allowed the privilege of an aged man to recur, for a few moments, to past events connected with his character and history. He then proceeded, and delivered in the most happy and impressive manner the beautiful speech which now graces our columns. The whole company were electrified by his patriotic enthusiasm ; and one of the guests, before they separated, begged that he would take the trouble to put on paper what he had so happily expressed, and furnish a copy for publication. Mr. R. obligingly complied with this request on the following day, but by some accident the manuscript got mislaid, and eluded all search for it until a few days ago, when it was unexpectedly recovered, and is now presented to our readers.

"On the near approach of that calendar-day which gave birth to Washington, I feel rekindling within me some of those emotions always connected with the recollection of that hallowed name. Permit me to indulge them, on this occasion, for a moment, in a few remarks, as preliminary to a sentiment which I shall beg leave to propose.

"I consider it as one of the consolations of my age, that I am old enough and fortunate enough to have seen that wonderful man. This happiness is still common to so many yet among the living, that less is thought of it now than will be in after-times ; but it is no less a happiness to me on that account.

"While a boy at school, I saw him for the first time ; it was when he was passing through New England, to take the command-in-chief of the American armies at Cambridge. Never shall I forget the impression his imposing presence then made upon my young imagination ; so superior did he seem to me to all that I had seen or imagined of the human form for striking effect. I remember with what delight, in my after studies, I came to the line in Virgil that expressed all the enthusiasm of my own feelings, as inspired by that presence, and which I could not often enough repeat :

*"Credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum."*

"I saw him again at his interview with Rochambeau, when they met to settle the plan of combined operations between the French fleet and the American armies, against the British on the Chesapeake ; and then I saw the immense crowd drawn together from all the neighboring towns, to get, if possible, one look at the man who had throned

\* [I verily believe, nor is my confidence unfounded, that he is of Divine descent.]

evening about sunset. You may possibly hear of their arrival in the Chesapeake before this letter reaches you ; should you not, you will have every thing prepared for

himself in every heart. Not one of that immense crowd doubted the final triumph of his country in her arduous conflict ; for every one saw, or thought he saw, in Washington, her guardian angel, commissioned by Heaven to insure her that triumph. ‘*Nil desperandum*’ was the motto with every one.

‘*Nil desperandum, Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro.*’\*

“ ‘In after-life, when the judgement corrects the extravagance of early impressions, I saw him on several occasions, but saw nothing to admonish me of any extravagance in my early impressions. The impression was still the same ; I had the same overpowering sense of being in the presence of some superior being.

“ ‘It is indeed remarkable, and I believe unique in the history of men, that Washington made the same impression upon all minds, at all places, and at once. When his fame first broke upon the world, it spread at once over the whole world. By the consent of mankind, by the universal sentiment, he was placed at the head of the human species ; above all envy, because above all emulation ; for no one then pretended, or has pretended to be—at least who has been allowed to be—the co-rival of Washington in fame.

“ ‘When the great Frederick of Prussia sent his portrait to Washington, with this inscription upon it,—‘From the oldest General in Europe to the greatest General in the world,’ he did but echo the sentiment of all the chivalry of Europe. Nor was the sentiment confined to Europe, nor to the bounds of civilization ; for the Arab of the desert talked of Washington in his tent ; his name wandered with the wandering Scythian, and was cherished by him as a household word in all his migrations. No clime was so barbarous as to be a stranger to the name ; but every where, and by all men, that name was placed at the same point of elevation, and above compeer. As it was in the beginning, so it is now ; of the future we cannot speak with certainty. Some future age, in the endless revolutions of time, may produce another Washington ; but the greater probability is that he is destined to remain for ever, as he now is, the Phoenix of human kind.

“ ‘What a possession to his country is such a fame ! Such a

‘*Clarum et venerabile nomen  
Gentibus !†*

“ ‘To all his countrymen it gives, and for ever will give, a passport to respect wherever they go, to whatever part of the globe, for his country is in every other identified with that fame.

“ ‘What, then, is incumbent upon us, his countrymen ? Why, to be such a people as shall be worthy of such a fame—a people of whom it shall be said, ‘No wonder such a people have produced such a man as Washington.’ I give you, therefore, this sentiment :

“ ‘The memory of Washington : May his countrymen prove themselves a people worthy of his fame.’ ”

\* [Let us never despair, with Teucer to lead us, and under Teucer's auspices.] :

† [A name, illustrious and venerable among the nations.]

falling down the Bay at a moment's warning. We have not yet heard of any move of the British in Gardiner's Bay. Should we luckily meet with no interruption from them, and Arnold should continue in Virginia till the arrival of M. Destouches, I flatter myself you will meet with that success, which I most ardently wish, not only on the public, but your own account.

"I am, dear Marquis, &c."

"*To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

"Newport, 11 March, 1781.

"DEAR MARQUIS,—I informed you on the 8th in the evening, that the French fleet had put to sea. By advices from New London, the British did the same yesterday morning with their whole force. They gave out publicly, that they were bound for the Chesapeake. I think the French had so much the start that they will first reach that Bay; but, as there is no accounting for the delays and accidents of the sea, I have given you this notice, lest, upon hearing that a fleet had arrived below, you might take it for granted that it was a friendly one, and fall down. You will now see, that precaution on that head is more than ever necessary. That success may attend you, is the sincere wish of your friend, &c."

"*To Governor Hancock.*

"Hartford, 17 March, 1781.

"SIR,—It would have afforded me the greatest pleasure, had I been able to extend my late visit to Newport as far as Boston; but the important operations, which may be expected at the southward, made it necessary for me to return as soon as possible to the North River, that I might be more immediately in the way of receiving intelligence, and communicating to Count de Rochambeau any which might be essential to the common interest. The present is a most important moment. The success of the expedition now in agitation seems to depend upon a naval superiority, and the force of the two fleets is so nearly equal, that we must rath-



er hope for, than entertain an assurance of, victory. The attempt, however, made by our allies to dislodge the enemy in Virginia, is certainly a bold one, and, should it fail, will, nevertheless, entitle them to the thanks of the public, &c."

*" To the Chevalier de Chastellux.*

*" New Windsor, 21 March, 1781.*

" I arrived, my dear Chevalier, at these my quarters, in the forenoon of yesterday, after passing over very bad roads, and riding through very foul weather, without any damage. I must again give vent to that sensibility, which your goodness has impressed me with, and again thank you for all those civilities, which your politeness heaped upon me at Rhode Island. I shall be grateful for them, and shall wish for opportunities to prove the sincerity of these professions.

" General Greene, by my last accounts, was gathering strength. Lord Cornwallis was retreating; but the object of his retrograde movement was uncertain. A little time must discover it. Will you do me the favor, to present my respects to General Viomenil, and those gentlemen to whom I am indebted for unbounded civilities; and do me the justice to believe, that, with sentiments of the purest regard, and the warmest personal attachment, I have the honor to be, &c."

While it continued uncertain, whether the French or British fleet would reach the Chesapeake, first, there was a great and painful suspense and anxiety. In a letter to General Schuyler, of March 22, Washington expressed himself, as follows :

" We are in a most critical and disagreeable state of suspense, with respect to the two fleets. Neither had arrived within the Chesapeake Bay, on the 15th instant, when letters from the Marquis and Baron Steuben were dated at Yorktown, twenty miles from the mouth of James River, though both were expected. How unhappy it is for all our measures, that the adoption of them cannot be in season. Had the French Commander at

Rhode Island complied, in the first instance, with my request to send the whole fleet, and a detachment of their land force, to Virginia, the destruction of Arnold's corps must have been complete, during the debilitated state of the British fleet. The undertaking now is bold and precarious, rendered more so by an unfortunate, and, to me, unaccountable, delay of twenty-four hours, in their quitting Newport, after it was said they were ready to sail ; the wind being as favorable to them, and as adverse to the enemy, as Heaven could furnish."

This second attempt to shut up the Chesapeake, and thus cut off Arnold's retreat from Virginia, also failed, as will be seen by the following extracts.

*" To the Chevalier Destouches.*

*" Head-Quarters, 31 March, 1781.*

" SIR,—I am obliged by the minute detail you were pleased to give me of the action on the 16th instant, between the squadron of his Most Christian Majesty, under your command, and that of the British, under Admiral Arbuthnot. Though you have not been able to accomplish the object which you had in view, you have merited the thanks of every American, by the boldness of the attempt, and by the gallantry and good conduct displayed through the whole course of the engagement. I will confess to you, sir, I was never sanguine in my expectations, after I saw the British fleet follow you, so closely, from Gardiner's Bay. I knew that the success of the expedition depended, almost entirely, upon your arrival in the Chesapeake, before Admiral Arbuthnot."

*" To Alexander McDougall, in Congress.*

*" New Windsor, 31 March, 1781.*

" DEAR SIR,—The expedition against Arnold has failed, after the favorable moment, occasioned by the disability of part of the British ships, at Gardiner's Bay, was suffered to pass away. I never was sanguine in my expectations of success ; but, the object being great, the risk was warrantable. The attempt of the Chevalier Destouches, at the time he sailed, was bold and enterprising."

An interesting review of the events, which had taken place during this spring, and General Washington's opinion of the condition and prospects of the American cause, at the time of its date, are given in the following extracts from a letter, written by him, on the 9th of April, 1781, to Colonel John Laurens, at Paris.

“ On the first notice of the storm, which happened on the 22d of January, and of its effects, I intimated to the French General, the possibility and importance of improving the opportunity, in an attempt upon Arnold. When I received a more certain account of the total loss of the Culloden, and the dismasting of the Bedford, two seventy-four gun ships, belonging to the British fleet, in Gardiner's Bay, I immediately put in motion, under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette, as large a part of my small force here, as I could with prudence detach, to proceed to the Head of Elk, and, with all expedition, made a proposal to the Count de Rochambeau, and the Chevalier Destouches, for a coöperation in Virginia, with the whole of the fleet of our allies, and a part of their land force. Before my proposition arrived, in consequence of an application to him from Philadelphia, the Chevalier Destouches had sent a ship of the line, and two or three frigates, to the Chesapeake Bay, which not only retarded the plan I had proposed, (by waiting their return,) but ultimately defeated the project ; as the enemy, in the mean time, remasted the Bedford, with the masts taken out of the Culloden, and, following the French fleet, arrived off the Capes of Virginia, before it ; where a naval combat ensued, glorious for the French, who were inferior in ships and guns, but unprofitable for us, who were disappointed of our object.

“ The failure of this expedition, which was most flattering in the commencement, is much to be regretted ; because a successful blow, in that quarter, would, in all probability, have given a decisive turn to our affairs in all the southern States ; because it has been attended with considerable expense, on our part, and much inconvenience to the State of Virginia, by the assembling of its militia ; because the world is disappointed, at not seeing Arnold in

gibbets ; and, above all, because we stood in need of something to keep us afloat, till the result of your mission is known ; for, be assured, my dear Laurens, day does not follow night more certainly, than it brings with it some additional proof of the impracticability of carrying on the war, without the aids you were directed to solicit. As an honest and candid man, as a man whose all depends on the final and happy termination of the present contest, I assert this, while I give it decisively as my opinion, that, without a foreign loan, our present force, which is but the remnant of an army, cannot be kept together this campaign ; much less will it be increased, and in readiness for another.

“ We are at this hour suspended in the balance ; not from choice, but from hard and absolute necessity ; and you may rely on it as a fact, that we cannot transport the provisions, from the States in which they are assessed, to the army, because we cannot pay the teamsters, who will no longer work for certificates. It is equally certain, that our troops are approaching fast to nakedness, and that we have nothing to clothe them with ; that our hospitals are without medicines, and our sick without nutriment, except such as well men eat ; and that all our public works are at a stand, and the artificers disbanding. But why need I run into detail, when it may be declared in a word, that we are at the end of our tether, and that now, or never, our deliverance must come.”

It seems that Mr. Lund Washington, who was left in charge of the estate at Mount Vernon, had been induced to supply the enemy's ships with provisions. When this became known to General Washington, he wrote the following letter.

“ *To Lund Washington, Mount Vernon.*

“ New Windsor, 30 April, 1781.

“ DEAR LUND,—I am very sorry to hear of your loss. I am a little sorry to hear of my own ; but that which gives me most concern is, that you should go on board the enemy's vessels, and furnish them with refresh-

ments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me, to have heard, that, in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my house, and laid the plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them, with a view to prevent a conflagration.

“It was not in your power, I acknowledge, to prevent them from sending a flag on shore, and you did right to meet it; but you should, in the same instant that the business of it was unfolded, have declared explicitly, that it was improper for you to yield to the request; after which, if they had proceeded to help themselves by force, you could but have submitted, and, being unprovided for defence, this was to be preferred to a feeble opposition, which only serves as a pretext to burn and destroy.

“I am thoroughly persuaded, that you acted from your best judgement, and believe, that your desire to preserve my property, and rescue the buildings from impending danger, was your governing motive; but to go on board their vessels, carry them refreshments, commune with a parcel of plundering scoundrels, and request a favor, by asking a surrender of my negroes, was exceedingly ill-judged, and, it is to be feared, will be unhappy in its consequence, as it will be a precedent for others, and, may be, become a subject of animadversion.

“I have no doubt of the enemy’s intention to prosecute the plundering plan, they have begun; and, unless a stop can be put to it, by the arrival of a superior naval force, I have as little doubt of its ending, in the loss of all my negroes, and in the destruction of my houses. But I am prepared for the event; under the prospect of which, if you could deposit, in a place of safety, the most valuable and least bulky articles, it might be consistent with policy and prudence, and a means of preserving them hereafter. Such and so many things as are necessary for common and present use must be retained, and must run their chance, through the fiery trial of this summer. I am sincerely yours.”

The two next letters are also in relation to this subject.

*" From the Marquis de Lafayette, to General Washington.*

*" Alexandria, April 23rd, 1781.*

**" MY DEAR GENERAL,**—Great happiness is derived from friendship, and I experience it, particularly, in the attachment which unites me to you. But friendship has its duties, and the man, who likes you best, will be the first to let you know everything in which you may be concerned.

**"** When the enemy came to your house, many negroes deserted to them. This piece of news did not affect me, much, as I little value these matters. But you cannot conceive how unhappy I have been, to hear that Mr. Lund Washington went on board the enemy's vessels, and consented to give them provisions.

**"** This being done by the gentleman, who, in some measure, represents you at your house, will certainly have a bad effect, and contrasts with spirited answers from some neighbors, that have had their houses burnt, accordingly.

**"** You will do what you think proper about it, my dear General ; but, as your friend, it was my duty confidentially to mention the circumstances.

**"** With the help of some wagons and horses, we got, in two days, from the camp near Baltimore, to this place. We halted yesterday, and, having made a small bargain for a few pair of shoes, are now marching to Fredericksburg. No official account from Phillips ; but, I am told, they are removing stores from Richmond and Petersburg. I am surprised, nobody writes to me, and hope soon to receive intelligence.

**"** Our men are in high spirits. Their honor having been interested in this affair, they have made a point to come with us ; and murmurs, as well as desertion, are entirely out of fashion. Requesting my best respects to Mrs. Washington, and my compliments to the family, I have the honor to be, with those sentiments which you know, &c."

*" To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

*" New Windsor, 4 May, 1781.*

**" MY DEAR MARQUIS,**—The freedom of your com-  
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munications is an evidence to me of the sincerity of your attachment ; and every fresh instance of this gives pleasure, and adds strength to the bond, which unites us in friendship. In this light, I view the intimation respecting the conduct of Mr. Lund Washington. Some days previous to the receipt of your letter, which only came to my hands yesterday, I received an account of this transaction, from that gentleman himself, and immediately wrote and forwarded the answer, of which the enclosed is a copy. This letter, which was written in the moment of my obtaining the first intimation of the matter, may be considered as a testimony of my disapprobation of his conduct, and the transmission of it to you, as a proof of my friendship ; because I wish you to be assured, that no man can condemn the measure more sincerely, than I do.

“ A false idea, arising from the consideration of his being my steward, and, in that character, more the trustee and guardian of my property, than the representative of my honor, has misled his judgement, and plunged him into error, upon the appearance of desertion among my negroes, and danger to my buildings ; for sure I am, that no man is more firmly opposed to the enemy, than he is. From a thorough conviction of this, and of his integrity, I intrusted every species of my property to his care, without reservation, or fear of his abusing it. The last paragraph of my letter to him was occasioned by an expression of his fear, that all the estates, convenient to the river, would be stripped of their negroes and movable property.

“ I am very happy to find that desertion has ceased, and content has taken place, in the detachment you command. Before this letter can reach you, you must have taken your ultimate resolution, upon the proposal contained in my letters of the 21st and 22nd ultimo, and have made the consequent arrangements. I shall be silent, therefore, on the subject of them, and only beg, in case you should not return to this army, and the papers were not lost with your other baggage, (on which event, give me leave to express my concern,) that you would permit M: Capitaine to furnish me with copies of the drafts, and the remarks of the pilots (taken at Colonel Day's) on the entrance of the har-

bor of New York. It is possible they may be wanted, and I am not able to furnish them, without your assistance.

“Mrs. Washington, and the rest of my small family, which, at present, consists only of Tilghman and Humphreys, join me in cordial salutations; and, with sentiments of the purest esteem and most affectionate regard, I remain, my dear Marquis, &c.”

“*To the President of Congress.*”

“New Windsor, 17 May, 1781.

“SIR,—The Count de Rochambeau having received despatches from the Court of France, by his son, the Viscount de Rochambeau, who arrived at Boston, in the frigate *Concorde*, on the sixth instant, has requested an interview with me. I have appointed the place of meeting, at Weathersfield, on Monday next, for which purpose I shall set out, hence, to-morrow. I am in hopes, that we shall be able, from the intelligence received, to settle a definitive plan of the campaign.

“I am sorry to inform your Excellency, that a part of our advanced troops were surprised, on Monday morning, near Croton River, by about sixty horse and two hundred foot, under the command of Colonel Delancey. Colonel Greene, who commanded our party, was mortally wounded in his quarters. The enemy attempted to carry him off, but he died upon the road. Major Flagg was killed. The loss of these two officers is to be regretted, especially the former, who had, upon several occasions, distinguished himself, particularly in the defence of the post of Red Bank, in 1777, when he defeated Count Donop. I enclose a return of our loss upon the late occasion.

“The enemy, on their return, fell in with Capt. Flagg, of the New Hampshire line, who was patrolling near White Plains. They attempted to surround him, and cut him off, by dint of superior numbers; but the Captain made so good a disposition of his small force, that he brought them off, with the loss of two men only. The enemy had a Captain and several men killed in the attack.”

The subjoined extracts from a letter to Chevalier de



la Luzerne, dated Weathersfield, May, 23, 1781, will show that Washington's favorite plan, of a combined attack, by land and sea, upon New York, still continued to gather strength in his mind.

"SIR,—The letter which I have the honor to enclose, from the Count de Rochambeau, will, I imagine, inform you of the intended march of the French army, towards the North River, and of the destination of the King's squadron, now in the harbor of Newport, if circumstances will admit of the respective movements. I should be wanting in respect and confidence, were I not to add, that our object is New York. The season, the difficulty and expense of land transportations, and the continual waste of men, in every attempt to re-enforce the southern States, are almost insuperable objections to marching another detachment from the army on the North River; nor do I see how it is possible to give effectual support to those States, and avert the evils which threaten them, while we are inferior, in naval force, in these seas.

"It is not for me to know, in what manner the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty is to be employed in the West Indies, this summer, or, to inquire, at what epoch it may be expected on this coast; but the appearance and aid of it, in this quarter, are of such essential importance, in any offensive operation, and so necessary, to stop the progress of the enemy's arms, at the southward, that I shall be excused, I am persuaded, for endeavoring to engage your good offices, in facilitating an event, on which so much depends. For this, I have a stronger plea, when I assure you that General Rochambeau's opinion and wishes concur with mine, and that it is at his instance, principally, I make to you this address.

"If we are happy enough, to find your Excellency in sentiment with us, it will be in your power, to inform the Count de Grasse, of the strength and situation of the enemy's naval and land force, in this country, the destination of the French squadron, under Admiral Barras, and the intentions of the allied arms, if a junction can be formed. At present, the British fleet lies within Block Island, and about five leagues from Point Judith.

“The Count de Rochambeau, and the Chevalier Chastellux, agree perfectly in sentiment, with me, that, while affairs remain as they now are, the West India fleet should run, immediately, to Sandy Hook, (if there are no concerted operations,) where they may be met with all the information requisite, and where, most likely, it will shut in, or cut off, Admiral Arbuthnot, and may be joined by the Count de Barras. An early and frequent communication, from the Count de Grasse, would lead to preparatory measures on our part, and be a means of facilitating the operation in hand, or any other which may be thought more advisable.”

The same idea is developed, more fully, in the following extract from a letter to Meshech Weare, President of New Hampshire, of May 24.

“SIR,—In consequence of a conference, held between the Count de Rochambeau and myself, at this place, the French army will march, as soon as circumstances will admit, and form a junction with the American army, upon the North River. The accomplishment of the object, which we have in contemplation, is of the utmost importance to America, and will, in all probability, be attained, unless there should be a failure, on our part, in the number of men, which will be required for the operation, or the enemy should withdraw a considerable part of their force, from the southward. It is in our own power, by proper exertions, to prevent the former ; and, should the latter take place, we shall be amply repaid our expenses, by liberating the southern States, where we have found, by experience, we are vulnerable.

“Arguments, surely, cannot be wanting, to impress the Legislature with a due sense of the obligation which they are under, of furnishing the means now called for. The enemy, counting upon our want of ability, or upon our want of energy, have, by repeated detachments to the southward, reduced themselves in New York to a situation, which invites us to take advantage of it ; and, should the lucky moment be lost, it is to be feared that they will, after subduing the southern States, raise a force in them sufficient to hold them, and return again to the

northward, with such a number of men, as will render New York secure against any force, which we can, at this time, raise or maintain. Our allies, in this country, expect and depend upon being supported by us in the attempt, which we are about to make, and those in Europe will be astonished, should we neglect the favorable opportunity, which is now offered."

In a letter to General Greene, of June 1st, Washington still further explains and illustrates his plan, as follows.

"I have lately had an interview with Count de Rochambeau, at Weathersfield. Our affairs were very attentively considered, in every point of view, and it was finally determined, to make an attempt upon New York, with its present garrison, in preference to a southern operation, as we had not the decided command of the water. You will readily suppose the reasons, which induced this determination, were the inevitable loss of men, from so long a march, more especially in the approaching hot season, and the difficulty, I may say impossibility, of transporting the necessary baggage, artillery, and stores, by land. If I am supported as I ought to be, by the neighboring States, in this operation, which, you know, has always been their favorite one, I hope that one of these consequences will follow,—either that the enemy will be expelled from the most valuable position which they hold upon the Continent, or be obliged to recall part of their force, from the southward, to defend it. Should the latter happen, you will be most essentially relieved by it. The French troops will begin their march this way, as soon as certain circumstances will admit. I can only give you the outlines of our plan. The dangers, to which letters are exposed, make it improper to commit to paper the particulars ; but, as matters ripen, I will keep you as well informed, as circumstances will allow."

In the mean while, Washington was concerting an enterprise, on a smaller scale, which was designed to prepare the way for the great consummation of his wishes, in the assault, by the expected aid of the allied fleet and army, upon the British forces in New York. He gave notice, confidentially, to Governor Clinton, of his intention to

attack, by sunrise of the 3d of July, the enemy's posts on the north end of York Island, and requested his co-operation. He described it, in a letter of July 2d, to General Knox, as follows :

" An enterprise, which I have long had in contemplation, will be executed in the course of this night, if General Lincoln, who commands the operating party, finds the attack advisable, upon reconnoitering the situation of the enemy, and he can do it by surprise. The enterprise is against the posts upon the north end of York Island. The remainder of the army marched this morning towards Kingsbridge. Part of the French troops were last night at Ridgebury, and will be at Bedford this evening. They will, in the course of to-morrow, be at hand to support us, should there be occasion. At the same time that the posts upon York Island are attempted, I have planned a surprise upon Delancey's corps at Morrisania, which is to be executed by the Duke de Lauzun, in conjunction with Sheldon's regiment, and Waterbury's State troops.

" Should we succeed in the attempt upon the posts, every effort will be made to hold them, and your assistance will be materially necessary. I shall take the speediest method of communicating the event to General McDougall, at West Point, who will bring out the militia to our support. You may, therefore, take it for granted that we have succeeded, if you see or hear the signals."

The result was thus communicated to Congress :

*" To the President of Congress.*

" Head-Quarters, near Dobbs's Ferry, 6 July, 1781.

" SIR,—I do myself the honor to inform your Excellency, that the army marched from their camp near Peekskill, on the morning of the 2d, without either tents or baggage, and reached Valentine's Hill, about four miles on this side of Kingsbridge, a little after daylight, the morning following.

" General Lincoln, with a detachment of eight hundred men, fell down the North River, in boats, landed near Phillips's House, before daylight, on the morning of the

3d, and took possession of the ground, on this side of Haerlem River, near where Fort Independence stood. This movement was principally intended to support and favor an enterprise, which I had projected against a corps of refugees, under the command of Colonel Delancey, at Morrisania, and other light troops without the bridge, and which was to have been executed by the Duke de Lauzun, with his own legion, Colonel Sheldon's regiment, and a detachment of State troops of Connecticut, under the command of Brigadier-General Waterbury. The Duke, notwithstanding the heat of the day of the 2d, marched from Ridgebury, in Connecticut, and reached East Chester, very early, next morning ; but, upon his arrival there, finding, by the firing, that General Lincoln had been attacked, and the alarm given, he desisted from a further prosecution of his plan, (which could only have been executed to any effect, by surprise,) and marched to the General's support, who continued skirmishing with the enemy, and endeavoring to draw them so far into the country, that the Duke might turn their right, and cut them off from their work on the east side of Haerlem River, and also prevent their repassing that river, in boats. General Parsons had possessed the heights immediately commanding Kingsbridge, and could have prevented their escape by that passage. Every endeavor of this kind proved fruitless ; for I found, upon going down, myself, to reconnoitre their situation, that all their force, except very small parties of observation, had retired to York Island. This afforded General Duportail and myself the most favorable opportunity of perfectly reconnoitering the works, upon the north end of the Island, and making observations, which may be of very great advantage, in future. Finding nothing further could be done, I returned, the day before yesterday, to this ground, where I expect to be joined, this day, by his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, who reached North Castle on the 2d instant.

“ I cannot too warmly express the obligations I am under to the Count, for the readiness with which he detached the Duke de Lauzun, and for the rapidity with which he pushed the march of his main body, that he

might have been within supporting distance, had any favorable stroke upon the enemy, below, given us an opportunity of pursuing any advantage, which might have been gained. General Lincoln had five or six men killed, and about thirty wounded, in his skirmish."

The extracts, that follow, are from a letter, dated "Head-Quarters, near Dobbs's Ferry, 13 July, 1781," addressed to the Marquis de Lafayette.

"I shall shortly have occasion to communicate matters of very great importance to you,—so much so, that I shall send a confidential officer on purpose. You will, in the mean time, endeavor to draw together as respectable a body of Continental troops, as you possibly can, and take every measure to augment your cavalry. Should the enemy confine themselves to the lower country, you will, no doubt, pay attention to the formation of magazines, above. These will be, in every case, essential, whether the war continues in Virginia, or whether it shall still be carried on in South Carolina. Should General Greene come into Virginia, in person, you will be good enough to communicate the foregoing to him.

"In the present situation of affairs, it is of the utmost importance, that a communication, by a chain of expresses, should be opened, between this army and that in Virginia. They are already established, from hence to Philadelphia; and, if there is none, from you to Philadelphia, you will be pleased to take measures for having it formed. You will also endeavor to establish such a communication with the coast, as to be able to know whether any troops are detached, by sea, from Lord Cornwallis's army; for it is more than probable, that, if he finds himself baffled, in attempting to overrun Virginia, he will take a strong post at Portsmouth or Williamsburg, and re-enforce New York or South Carolina. Should any detachment be made, you will transmit to me the earliest intelligence."

The foregoing extracts will give the reader a general view of the disposition of the contending powers, at the time of the date of the one last quoted. General Greene was conducting the war, with his usual admirable skill an<sup>d</sup>

ability, against the British, in the Carolinas ; Lafayette was distinguishing himself by the manner in which he manœuvred his forces, and baffled the efforts of Lord Cornwallis, in Virginia ; while Washington, with the main combined American and French army, was meditating an effectual stroke upon the British Commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, in New York. His plan was, that the French fleet, under Count de Barras, which was in Newport, should sail to the Chesapeake, and prevent the escape of Cornwallis, or his sending re-enforcements to Sir Henry Clinton ; and that Count de Grasse, with his powerful fleet, who was then in the West Indies, should make his way, as speedily as possible, to New York ; in which event, that is, the arrival of Count de Grasse's fleet, it was Washington's intention to assail New York, with all the power he could command, by land, and, by carrying it, and taking the British Commander-in-chief, to end the war at once. To the accomplishment of this grand and brilliant scheme, Washington had, for some time, been directing all his resources. It had become a most favored and cherished project, and his whole heart was literally fixed upon it.

But he was doomed to a bitter disappointment of his hopes. The French Admirals seemed to be strangely inclined to thwart and defeat his arrangements. Count de Barras could not be induced to carry his squadron to the Chesapeake. Washington bore this first step in the derangement of his plans with fortitude and composure, as the following extract shows.

*“ To Count de Barras.*

*“ Head-Quarters, Dobbs's Ferry, 21 July, 1781.*

*“ SIR,—I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 15th instant. I have no doubt but the reasons, which induce you to decline the removal of the squadron under your command to the Chesapeake, at this time, are founded in propriety ; but I am certain, that, could the measure have taken place, it would have been attended with most valuable consequences, more especially as, from reports and appearances, the enemy are about to bring part of their troops from Virginia to New York.”*

The arrival of Count de Grasse's fleet was looked for, with anxious impatience. Its force was so great, that it would be able, if nothing more, at least to blockade New York, and prevent any re-enforcement reaching Sir Henry Clinton, either from England, or the southern detachments of the army. Whatever might be the subsequent operations of the war, it would be a capital point, to shut up New York. Hence the impatience with which Washington waited for the appearance of Count de Grasse.

On the 14th of August, he received despatches from the Count, having been brought, by a French ship of war, to Newport, that he did not intend to come to New York, but to bend his course to the Chesapeake. Just at this time, a fleet of transports entered New York, from England, having on board, between two and three thousand Hessian troops. The intelligence of these events produced an effect upon Washington, which disappointment and adversity were seldom able to work. He could not but feel the bitterest regret. If Count de Grasse had but come to New York, it was almost certain, that this Hessian re-enforcement would have fallen into his hands. And, whatever might have been the ulterior operations of the campaign, whether it might have been thought practicable or not, to make an attempt upon New York, Sir Henry Clinton and his garrison would have been effectually cut off from all communication with the other divisions of the British army. He could neither have aided, or been aided by, them. And Washington might have taken his choice, whether to strike a concentrated blow upon him, or upon Cornwallis. It is not to be doubted, however, that this idea, of an attempt upon New York, had obtained strong possession of the imagination and the feelings of the American Commander. His prudence would not, of course, have allowed him to undertake it, unless circumstances had justified the measure ; but he hoped, by keeping out re-enforcements, Sir Henry Clinton might be so reduced, that, by aid of the French land and naval forces, his conquest could be achieved. It had now become evident, however, that the thought of assailing New York, was to be forever abandoned ; and



it has been represented, by one who had means of knowing,\* that, for a time, Washington was overwhelmed with mortification and disappointment. He had associated his hopes of a glorious termination of the war, with this long-concerted and earnestly-pursued plan of investing New York, both by sea and land. It had become more closely interwoven with his feelings and views, than any other scheme of operations he had ever projected. It is easy to imagine the interest, with which, after months of incessant preparation, and when every thing seemed to concur, to favor his views, he must have clung to the vision. It was a glorious design. If Count de Grasse had invested New York by sea, and Count de Barras had kept the British forces in the South from coming to its relief, and Washington and Count de Rochambeau had fallen upon it by land, success would, in all probability, have crowned the movement ; and the achievement would have been a most noble conclusion of the Revolutionary struggle ; for, if Sir Henry Clinton had been conquered and taken, in New York, it is certain, that the detachments of the British forces, in the South, would have grounded their arms to Greene and Lafayette, without striking another blow. Upon receiving Count de Grasse's letter, Washington was so agitated, and excited, and grieved, by the intelligence it conveyed, that his attendants were obliged to leave him. This was one of the few instances, in which his naturally violent feelings obtained control over his habitual serenity and self-command. But the triumph of passion was but for a moment. In less than half an hour, his attendants were again summoned to his presence, and found him as calm, and firm, and composed, as though nothing had occurred, to disturb the equanimity of his spirit. In the mean while, he had won a victory over himself ; his moral and intellectual nature had gained a complete ascendancy, and he appeared in all the majesty of his unrivalled self-command.

This sublime conquest over his own sensibilities and passions was rewarded by an approving Providence.

\* Colonel Timothy Pickering.

Having to give up his darling project, of carrying New York by storm, it being quite clear that it could no longer be reasonably indulged, he reconciled his mind to its abandonment. Summoning a moral energy sufficient for the occasion, he calmly applied himself to the inquiry, what next could be done ; and he was forthwith led to the adoption of a train of measures, which, in a manner equally satisfactory and glorious, resulted in the accomplishment of all his hopes, and the speedy and final triumph of his cause.

The new direction which was given to the course of affairs, by Count de Grasse's going with his fleet to the Chesapeake, rather than to New York, will be best seen in extracts from Washington's letters. On the 15th of August, he wrote from his " Head-Quarters, Dobbs's Ferry," to Lafayette, as follows :

" MY DEAR MARQUIS,—The Concorde frigate has arrived at Newport, from Count de Grasse. He was to leave St. Domingo, the 3d of this month, with a fleet of between twenty-five and twenty-nine sail of the line, and a considerable body of land forces. His destination is immediately for the Chesapeake ; so that he will either be there, by the time this reaches you, or you may look for him, every moment. Under these circumstances, whether the enemy remain in full force, or whether they have only a detachment left, you will immediately take such a position, as will best enable you to prevent their sudden retreat through North Carolina, which I presume they will attempt, the instant they perceive so formidable an armament. Should General Wayne, with the troops destined for South Carolina, still remain in the neighborhood of James River, and should the enemy have made no detachment to the southward, you will detain those troops, until you hear from me again, and inform General Greene of the cause of their delay. If Wayne should have marched, and should have gained any considerable distance, I would not have him halted.

" You shall hear further from me, as soon as I have concerted plans, and formed dispositions, for sending a re-enforcement from hence. In the mean time, I have

only to recommend a continuation of that prudence and good conduct, which you have manifested through the whole of your campaign. You will be particularly careful, to conceal the expected arrival of the Count ; because, if the enemy are not apprized of it, they will stay on board their transports in the Bay, which will be the luckiest circumstance in the world. You will take measures for opening a communication with Count de Grasse, the moment he arrives, and will concert measures with him for making the best use of your joint forces, until you receive aid from this quarter. I would not wish you to call out a large body of militia upon this occasion, but rather keep those you have, compact and ready for service."

This letter was written to Lafayette, as the first step of a course of measures, which is described in the following passages from Washington's Diary.

" *August 14th.*—Received despatches from the Count de Barras, announcing the intended departure of Count de Grasse from Cape François, with between twenty-five and twenty-nine sail of the line, and three thousand two hundred land troops, on the 3d instant, for the Chesapeake Bay ; and the anxiety of the latter to have every thing in the most perfect readiness to commence our operations, at the moment of his arrival, as he should be under the necessity, from particular engagements with the Spaniards, to be in the West Indies, by the middle of October. The Count de Barras, at the same time, intimated his intentions of an enterprise against Newfoundland ; in opposition to which, both Count de Rochambeau and myself remonstrated, as being impolitic and dangerous, under the probability of Rodney's coming on this coast.

" Matters having now come to a crisis, and a decided plan to be determined on, I was obliged,—from the shortness of Count de Grasse's promised stay on this coast, the apparent disinclination of their naval officers to force the harbor of New York, and the feeble compliance of the States with my requisitions for men, hitherto, and the little prospect of greater exertion, in future,—to give up all ideas of attacking New York, and, instead thereof, to remove the French troops and a detachment from the

American army to the Head of Elk, to be transported to Virginia, for the purpose of coöperating with the force from the West Indies, against the troops in that State."

The following extracts will show the very great rapidity with which the movements of the combined army were conducted, and the brilliant success which crowned them.

*" To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

*" King's Ferry, 21 August, 1781.*

" MY DEAR MARQUIS,—Agreeably to my intentions, communicated to you, on the 15th instant, the troops, destined for the southern quarter, are now in motion. The American detachment is already on the west side of the Hudson. The French army, I expect, will reach the Ferry, this day. Our march will be continued, with all the despatch that our circumstances will admit. As it will be of great importance, towards the success of our present enterprise, that the enemy, on the arrival of the fleet, should not have it in their power to effect their retreat, I cannot omit to repeat to you my most earnest wish, that the land and naval forces, which you will have with you, may so combine their operations, that the British army may not be able to escape. The particular mode of doing this, I shall not, at this distance, attempt to dictate."

*" To Count de Grasse.*

*" Head-Quarters, King's Ferry, 24 August, 1781.*

" From the progress already made in our march towards the Chesapeake, it is estimated that the troops may arrive at the Head of Elk, by the 8th of September. That no delay may retard our embarkation, I take the liberty again to urge the necessity of your Excellency's sending up all your frigates and transports to the Head of Elk, in such time, that they may be sure of being there, by the 8th of next month."

The transference of the combined American and French armies from New York to the Chesapeake, of course, was not to be effected, on a sudden emergency, and with such wonderful rapidity, without the greatest

promptitude, presence of mind, diligence, and indefatigable labor, on the part of the Commander-in-chief. It required an instantaneous change in the general plan, and in all the subsidiary operations of the campaign. The whole force under his command, in all its divisions and positions, was to be simultaneously wheeled about. The direction in which the supplies, resources, and energies, of the country, had, for a considerable time, been made to flow, was to be reversed in a moment, and an entire new scheme of operations concerted, arranged, and put in motion. It was done at once, and with a perfection and precision, which never have been surpassed in military history. From the time when the order was given to the allied army, to break up their encampments, and march from the Hudson to the Chesapeake, all along their rapid and uninterrupted progress, until they reached Yorktown, and terminated the contest by the glorious achievement there, every thing occurred in the manner provided. So far as the operations of the land forces were concerned, there was no detention, confusion, or dismay. The movement was perfect. It resembled the workings of a machine. It was most complicated, but it was harmonious, exact, and sure in its result. To give an idea of the extent to which the forethought, prudence, experience, wisdom, and industry, of the Commander-in-chief, were necessary, to secure the favorable progress of this brilliant military operation, it will be proper to quote the following passage from a letter written by him, on the 27th of August, to the Superintendent of Finance.

“DEAR SIR,—Accounts brought by several vessels to Philadelphia, and to the eastward, leave little doubt, that the Count de Grasse must have already arrived in the Chesapeake, or that he must be very soon there. The Count de Rochambeau and myself have, therefore, determined, that no time ought to be lost, in making preparations for our transportation from Trenton to Christiana, and from the Head of Elk down the Chesapeake. I have written by this opportunity, to Colonel Miles, and have directed him, immediately to engage all the proper kind of craft, for the navigation of the Delaware, which

can be found in Philadelphia, or in the creeks above and below it ; and, as your advice may be useful to him, more especially so far as respects procuring the vessels at a distance from Philadelphia, I have desired him to wait upon you, for that purpose. I shall also be obliged to you, for using your influence with the gentlemen of Baltimore, to permit any vessels that may be in that port, to come up to Elk, and assist us in transportation. I have little doubt, from the cheerfulness with which they furnished the Marquis, last winter, that they will comply with your requisition, on the present occasion. But, lest there should be a necessity for the interference of the executive of the State, I have written to Governor Lee, upon that and other matters. I enclose the letter under a flying seal, for your information, and you will be good enough to forward it, by a chain of expresses, which is established. Any vessels which may be procured, in the Chesapeake, should rendezvous, as soon as possible, in Elk River.

“You will be pleased to make the deposit of flour, rum, and salt meat, at the Head of Elk, which I requested, in a former letter. I am very fearful that about fifteen hundred barrels of salt provisions, and thirty hogsheads of rum, which I directed to be sent from Connecticut and Rhode Island, under convoy of the Count de Barras, would not have been ready, when the fleet sailed from Newport. Should that have been the case, the disappointment will be great. I would wish you to see whether a like quantity of those articles can be procured in Philadelphia, or in Maryland, if we should find that they have not gone round from the eastward.

“I must entreat you, if possible, to procure one month’s pay, in specie, for the detachment which I have under my command. Part of those troops have not been paid any thing, for a long time past, and have, upon several occasions, shown marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the northern regiments ; but I make no doubt, that a *douceur* of a little hard money would put them in proper temper.”

On the second of September, having reached Philadelphia, he wrote to Lafayette, thus :

*“ To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

*“ Philadelphia, 2 September, 1781.*

**“ MY DEAR MARQUIS,**—Nothing could have afforded me more satisfaction than the information, communicated in your two letters of the 21st and 24th ultimo, of the measures you had taken, and the arrangements you were making, in consequence of the intelligence I had given you. Calculating upon the regular force under your immediate orders, the militia who have already been called for, and may be expected in the field, the French army, and the American corps now marching with Major-General Lincoln from the northward, in addition to the land forces expected on board of the fleet, I flatter myself we shall not experience any considerable difficulties from the want of men to carry our most favorite projects into execution. The means for prosecuting a siege with rapidity, energy, and success, and for supplying the troops while they are engaged in that service, as they are most precarious, have been and still continue to be the great objects of my concern and attention.

**“ Heavy cannon, ordnance stores, and ammunition, to a pretty large amount, are now forwarding. General Knox, in whose immediate province these arrangements are, and who knows the whole of our resources, is making every exertion to furnish a competent supply, and will be on the spot to remedy every deficiency, as far as the circumstances will possibly admit. Having also from the first moment been extremely anxious respecting the supplies of the army, (in which I comprehend not only provisions of the bread and meat kind, but also forage and the means of transportation,) I had written pressing to the Governors of Maryland and Virginia on that subject previous to the receipt of your favor of the 21st of August. I have since reiterated my entreaties, and enforced, in the strongest terms I was capable of using, the requisitions for specific supplies made by Congress, and now again called for by the Superintendent of Finance from the States of Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland; and as to the supplies of Pennsylvania, we are to look for them**

from the Financier himself. I hope and trust the efforts of these States and of Virginia will be uncommonly great, and proportionate to the magnitude of the object before us.

“ In order to introduce some kind of system and method in our supplies, to know with certainty what may be depended upon, and to put the business in the best possible train of execution, I shall send forward the heads of departments, as soon as their presence can be dispensed with. I have spoken to the surgeon-general respecting hospital stores and medicines. All that can be done will be done in that department. As to clothing, I am sorry to inform you, that little is to be expected, except in the article of shoes, of which a full supply will be sent on.

“ In my progress to the southward, I shall take care, as far as practicable, to make all the arrangements necessary for the operation in view, and to impress the executives with an idea of the absolute necessity of furnishing their quotas of supplies regularly ; as we have no other resources to rely upon for the support of the army, and especially, as I am very apprehensive, that a quantity of fifteen hundred barrels of salted provisions, which I had ordered to be shipped under convoy of the Count de Barras, did not arrive in time for that purpose.

“ But, my dear Marquis, I am distressed beyond measure to know what has become of the Count de Grasse, and for fear that the English fleet, by occupying the Chesapeake, towards which my last accounts say they were steering, may frustrate all our flattering prospects in that quarter. I am also not a little solicitous for the Count de Barras, who was to have sailed from Rhode Island on the 23d ultimo, and from whom I have heard nothing since that time. Of many contingencies we will hope for the most propitious events. Should the retreat of Lord Cornwallis by water be cut off, by the arrival of either of the French fleets, I am persuaded you will do all in your power to prevent his escape by land. May that great felicity be reserved for you.”

No just idea can be given of Washington's personal situation, of the circumstances that surrounded him, and of his views and feelings, from day to day, and from hour to



hour, by any general description. On all these subjects, he has spoken for himself, in his letters, which, from this point, until the end of the campaign, tell his own story.

*“ To the President of Congress.*

*“ Chester, 3 o'clock, P. M., 5 September, 1781.*

“ SIR,—With pleasure I do myself the honor to transmit to your Excellency the enclosed copy of a letter from General Gist. It announces the safe arrival in the Chesapeake of Admiral de Grasse, with twenty-eight ships of the line. On this happy event I beg your Excellency to accept my warmest congratulations. I shall proceed, with all possible despatch, forwarding as I go the troops and stores, with all the expedition in my power. On my arrival at the Head of Elk, if I do not find water-craft sufficient to embark the whole of the stores and troops, I shall forward on the former by water, with as many troops as can go by that conveyance, and march the others by land. I have the honor to be, &c.”

*“ To Count de Grasse.*

*“ Head of Elk, 6 September, 1781.*

“ SIR,—I have been honored by your Excellency's favor of the 2d instant, and do myself the pleasure to felicitate you on the happy arrival of so formidable a fleet of his Most Christian Majesty in the Bay of Chesapeake under your Excellency's command. This happy event I hope will be improved to the most salutary purposes for the united interests of both nations.

“ Expecting to have the honor of a personal interview with your Excellency almost as soon as this will reach your hand, I shall not, in writing, give you the trouble of a particular detail of my designs. I will only inform you that the van of the two armies, the French and Americans, consisting of about two thousand men, (there not being transports for the whole,) will embark in about two days, and will fall down the Chesapeake to form a junction with the troops under the command of the Count de St. Simon, and the Marquis de Lafayette, and to co-operate in blocking up Cornwallis in York River, and

preventing him from making his retreat by land, or collecting any supplies from the country. This junction of the van of our troops is proposed to be made in James River, unless your Excellency and the commanders of the land troops should judge some other point of debarkation to be more favorable to our intentions ; in which case you will be pleased to meet the transports while on their way, with orders to proceed to any other point which may be fixed on.

“ The remainder of the troops from hence will be forwarded with all the expedition our circumstances will admit. In the mean time, as it will be of the greatest importance to prevent the escape of his lordship from his present position, I am persuaded that every measure, which prudence can dictate, will be adopted for that purpose, until the arrival of our complete force, when I hope his lordship will be compelled to yield his ground to the superior power of our combined forces.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.”

“ *To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

“ Head of Elk, 7 September, 1781.

“ MY DEAR MARQUIS,—I have received with infinite satisfaction the information of the arrival of the Count de Grasse ; and have an additional pleasure in finding, that your ideas on every occasion have been so consonant to my own, and that by your military dispositions and prudent measures you have anticipated all my wishes. Every thing has hitherto succeeded agreeably to my desires and expectations. The want of a sufficient number of vessels to transport the whole of the troops, ordnance, and stores at once, is only a misfortune that could not be avoided.

“ We shall have transports enough, I believe, to embark the heavy cannon, necessary stores, and the van of the American and French armies, consisting of one thousand men from each, by to-morrow. No measure will be left unessayed, no effort unattempted, to get forward the remainder of the troops and stores, and commence the operation as soon as it is possible in the nature of things to be done. I forbear to enter into more particulars, as

I shall set out for the theatre of action to-morrow, and hope to have the pleasure of communicating with you personally in a few days, and of making every arrangement, in conjunction with the Admiral, which may be deemed necessary. I am, &c."

*" To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

" Mount Vernon, 10 September, 1781.

" MY DEAR MARQUIS,—We are thus far on our way to you. The Count de Rochambeau has just arrived. General Chastellux will be here, and we propose, after resting to-morrow, to be at Fredericksburg on the night of the 12th. The 13th we shall reach New Castle; and the next day we expect to have the pleasure of seeing you at your encampment. Should there be any danger as we approach you, I should be obliged if you will send a party of horse towards New Kent Court-House to meet us. With great personal regard and affection, I am, my dear Marquis, &c."

*" To the President of Congress.*

" Williamsburg, 15 September, 1781.

" SIR,—I have the honor to inform Congress, that I arrived at this place last evening; that, soon after my arrival, I received the pleasing intelligence, that the Count de Grasse, who had put to sea on the 5th in pursuit of the British fleet, had returned to his former station at Cape Henry, having driven the British from the coast, taken two of their frigates, and effected a junction with the squadron of the Count de Barras.

" In consequence of my having been informed of the sailing of the fleet from the Capes, and being apprehensive that we were not assured of the security of our navigation in the bay, I had ordered the troops, who were embarked at the Head of Elk, to stop until we had further intelligence. Orders are this morning gone on to press them forward with every despatch possible. I am distressed to find, that the supplies of the army collecting here are on too precarious a footing. Already a want of provisions has been experienced. Every measure is

taking, that is in my power, to be better assured of our supplies in future. How far I shall succeed in my endeavors, time must discover. I have the honor to be, &c."

*" To Major-General Lincoln.*

*" Williamsburg, 15 September, 1781.*

" DEAR SIR,—Upon information of the sailing of the fleet from the Chesapeake Bay, I gave orders for the troops, who were embarked, to be stopped. Since my arrival at this place, I am informed that Count de Grasse has been joined by Count de Barras, and, having captured two English frigates, has returned to his former station at the Capes. On this pleasing information I have sent forward Count Fersen to hurry on the troops with all possible despatch. Every day we now lose is comparatively an age. As soon as it is in our power with safety, we ought to take our position near the enemy. Hurry on then, my dear sir, with your troops on the wings of speed. The want of our men and stores is now all that retards our immediate operations. Lord Cornwallis is improving every moment to the best advantage; and every day that is given him to make his preparations may cost us many lives to encounter them.

" I am very sensible of your vigilance and activity. My impatience, however, to commence our operations impels me to write as I have done. You will come with your troops to the College Landing in James River, where, unless you receive other orders, you will debark. I am, &c."

*" To Count de Grasse.*

*" Williamsburg, 15 September, 1781.*

" SIR,—I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 4th of this month soon after my arrival at this place. I am at a loss to express the pleasure, which I have in congratulating your Excellency on your return to your former station in the Bay, and the happy circumstance of forming a junction with the squadron of the Count de Barras. I take particular satisfaction in felicitating your Excellency on the glory of having driven the British fleet

from the coast, and taking two of their frigates. These happy events, and the decided superiority of your fleet, give us the happiest presages of the most complete success in our combined operations in this Bay.

“ It is with much regret, that I find the want of transports in the Bay has retarded the progress of the troops expected from the northward. If it is possible for your Excellency to give us any assistance in this distress, it will be attended with inexpressible advantage to the prosecution of our measures, and will be acknowledged with the highest gratitude. Such of our troops, as could not be embarked at the Head of Elk, are marching to Baltimore, where they are to be put on board such transports as may be collected at that place.

“ It is very much the wish of the Count de Rochambeau, as well as of myself, to have the honor of an interview with your Excellency ; but our particular circumstances render us dependant on your goodness for the means of conveyance. If your Excellency could despatch some fast-sailing cutter to receive us on board, and inform us as to the time and place, we shall be very happy to attend on you, at the earliest moment you shall fix. Count Fersen, an aid to Count de Rochambeau, is sent on to hurry down the troops that are embarking. If your Excellency can furnish him the means of proceeding up the Bay, it will be very agreeable. I am, &c.

“ P. S. Since writing the above, I am informed with much pleasure, that your Excellency has anticipated my wishes in sending transports up the Bay.”

“ *To Major-General St. Clair.*

“ Williamsburg, 15 September, 1781.

“ DEAR SIR,—I have to request you, in the most earnest manner, to send forward all the recruits that are furnished by the State of Pennsylvania for their line. Let it not be said, that those troops are kept from service for want of a few articles, which they could wish to be furnished with, when other troops doing duty in the field are combating almost every distress imaginable in the

want of almost every necessary. If any thing in the power of the State can be instantly done towards their equipment, I wish the authorities to be called upon, and hope they will furnish what they can without delay. It is the highest absurdity in the world to keep those troops in a state of idleness at great expense, and at the same time for want of them to put the public to the same or much greater charge, by calling in the aid of militia, which we are now obliged to do. I beg you, therefore, to hurry on those troops, with all the expedition in your power, by water down the Chesapeake, embarking at Baltimore, where craft can doubtless be found by taking the proper precaution, and their transportation will be perfectly secure, so long as the fleet maintains its present station. The place of debarkation will be in James River, probably at the College Landing, unless further orders shall be given to carry them to some other place nearer the point of our operations. I am, &c."

*" To the President of Congress.*

*" Williamsburg, 23 September, 1781.*

" SIR,—On my arrival at this place I found it would be attended with good consequences for me to see Admiral de Grasse in person. This visit I have performed, and met the Count on board the *Ville de Paris* at Cape Henry, from whence I have just returned. I am happy to inform Congress, that I found the French Admiral disposed in the best manner to give us all the assistance in his power, and perfectly to co-operate with me in our present attempt.

" The vessels from the Head of Elk are now debarking their stores and troops, except some few which are not yet arrived. This is accounted for from their being dull sailers. They are expected soon. I still find myself embarrassed for want of provisions, and sufficient means of transportation; but by superior exertions I hope to surmount these difficulties, and to find myself soon before the enemy's works at York and Gloucester.

" I have the honor to be, &c."

*“ To Count de Grasse.*

“ Williamsburg, 25 September, 1781.

“ SIR,—I cannot conceal from your Excellency the painful anxiety under which I have labored since the receipt of the letter with which you honored me on the 23d instant. The naval movements, which your Excellency states there as possible, considering the intelligence communicated to you by Baron de Closen, make it incumbent upon me to represent the consequences that would arise from them, and to urge a perseverance in the plan already agreed upon. Give me leave, in the first place, to repeat to your Excellency, that the enterprise against York, under the protection of your ships, is as certain as any military operation can be rendered by a decisive superiority of strength and means ; that it is in fact reducible to calculation ; that the surrender of the British garrison will be important in itself and its consequences ; and that it must necessarily go a great way towards terminating the war, and securing the invaluable objects of it to the allies.

“ Your Excellency’s departure from the Chesapeake, by affording an opening for the succor of York, which the enemy would instantly avail themselves of, would frustrate these brilliant prospects ; and the consequence would be, not only the disgrace and loss of renouncing an enterprise, upon which the fairest expectations of the allies have been founded, after the most expensive preparations and uncommon exertions and fatigues, but perhaps the disbanding of the whole army for want of provisions.

“ The present theatre of the war is totally deficient in the means of land transportation, being intersected by large rivers, and the whole dependance for interior communication being upon small vessels. The country has besides been so much exhausted by the ravages of the enemy, and the subsistence of our own army, that our supplies can only be drawn from a distance, and under cover of a fleet commanding the Chesapeake. I most earnestly entreat your Excellency further to consider, that, if the present opportunity should be missed, and you

should withdraw your maritime force from the position agreed upon, no future day can restore to us a similar occasion for striking a decisive blow ; that the British will be indefatigable in strengthening their most important maritime points ; and that the time of an honorable peace will be more remote than ever.

“ The confidence, with which I feel myself inspired by the energy of character and naval talents, which so eminently distinguish your Excellency, leaves me no doubt, that, upon a consideration of the consequences, which must follow your departure from the Chesapeake, you will determine upon the measure, which the dearest interests of the common cause would dictate. I had invariably flattered myself, from the accounts given me by skilful mariners, that your position, moored in the Chesapeake, might be made so respectable as to bid defiance to any attempt on the part of the British fleet, at the same time that it would support the operations of a siege, secure the transportation of our supplies by water, and economize the most precious time by facilitating the debarkation of our heavy artillery and stores conveniently to the trenches in York River. It is to be observed, that the strength of the enemy’s re-enforcement under Admiral Digby, as we have the intelligence from the British, may not only be exaggerated, but altogether a *finesse* ; and supposing the account consistent with truth, their total force, it was hoped, would not put them in a condition to attack with any prospect of success.

“ If the stationary position, which had been agreed upon, should be found utterly impracticable, there is an alternative, which, however inferior, considered relatively to the support and facility of our land operations, would save our affairs from ruin. This is, to cruise with your fleet within view of the Capes, so as effectually to prevent the entrance of any British vessels.

“ Upon the whole, I should esteem myself deficient in my duty to the common cause of France and America, if I did not persevere in entreating your Excellency to resume the plans, that have been so happily arranged ; and, if invincible maritime reasons shall prevent, I depend



as a last resource upon your pursuing the alternative above mentioned, and rendering the Chesapeake inaccessible to any enemy's vessel.

"However the British admiral may manœuvre, and endeavor to divert your Excellency from the object in view, I can hardly admit a belief, that it can be his serious intention to engage in a general action with a fleet, whose force will be superior, supposing the most flattering accounts of the British to be true; past experience having taught them to engage with caution, even upon equal terms, and forced from them acknowledgements, which prove the respect with which they have been inspired. Let me add, sir, that even a momentary absence of the French fleet may expose us to the loss of the British garrison at York; as, in the present state of affairs, Lord Cornwallis might effect the evacuation with the loss of his artillery and baggage, and such a sacrifice of men as his object would evidently justify.

"The Marquis de Lafayette, who does me the honor to bear this to your Excellency, will explain many particularities of our situation, which could not well be comprised in a letter. His candor and abilities are well known to you, and entitle him to the fullest confidence in treating of the most important interests. I have earnestly requested him not to proceed any further than the Capes, for fear of accidents, should your Excellency have put to sea. In this case he will despatch a letter to you in addition to this. I have the honor to be, &c."

*"To Count de Grasse.*

"Head-Quarters, 27 September, 1781.

"SIR,—I am much indebted to your Excellency for the instant communication with which you have honored me, of the disposition that you have determined for your fleet. The resolutions that you have taken in our circumstances prove, that a great mind knows how to make personal sacrifices to secure an important general good. Fully sensible of those, which you have made on the present occasion, I flatter myself, that the result of the operations, conducted under your auspices, will compen-

sate them by its utility to the common cause. Your Excellency may depend on every assistance, that the allied armies can give, relatively to the battery which you propose at Point Comfort, and that our utmost exertions will be used in hastening the investment of the enemy.

“I am, &c.

“P. S. I am this moment informed by deserters, that the enemy are preparing more fire-ships against your vessels in the river, and that the old Fowey is to be one.”

“*To the President of Congress.*”

“Camp, near York, 1 October, 1781.

“SIR,—Last evening I was honored with your Excellency’s favor of the 21st with its enclosure. The intelligence contained in it, respecting the British fleet, is very agreeable, and has been transmitted to Admiral de Grasse. In my last I informed you, that our preparations for a near investment of the enemy at York were fast ripening to a point. I have now to acquaint your Excellency, that I marched from Williamsburg with the whole army on the 28th, and approached near to the enemy, about two miles from York, where a show was made of some opposition on our left; but, Count de Rochambeau, who commanded that part of the army, moving some field-artillery towards them, under direction of the Baron Viomenil, and giving a few shot, they retired. On the 29th, the American troops moved forward, and took their ground in front of the enemy’s works on their left; there being no opposition, save a few scattered shot from a small work by Moor’s Mill, and a battery on the left of Pigeon Quarter. There was a small fire all day from our riflemen and the enemy’s Yagers. On the 30th in the morning we discovered that the enemy had evacuated all their exterior works, and withdrawn themselves to those near the town. By this means we are in possession of very advantageous grounds, which command their line of works in a very near advance. All the expedition, that our circumstances will admit, is

using to bring up our heavy artillery and stores to open our batteries. This work I hope will be executed in a few days, when our fire will immediately commence.

“ The investment of the enemy is fully completed and drawn very near to their lines, saving the water communication above the town on York River. To complete that part, a request is gone to Count de Grasse, desiring him to push a ship or two above the town ; which, if effected, will answer many very valuable purposes. The position of Count de Grasse is judiciously taken, the main fleet being disposed in Lynnhaven Bay, and detachments made to secure the rivers ; and the determination of the Count seems to be fully to comply with our wishes in every necessary co-operation. I shall continue to keep Congress advised of such occurrences as are worthy the communication. I have the honor to be, &c.”

“ *To the President of Congress.*

“ Camp, before York, 6 October, 1781.

“ SIR,—Since mine to your Excellency of the 1st instant, we have been employed in repairing the enemy’s works upon Pigeon Hill, and in constructing a new intermediate redoubt. These will serve to give security to our troops in making their approaches. We have been assiduously employed in making fascines and gabions, and in transporting our heavy cannon, mortars, and stores from Trebell’s Landing, on James River. In the last we made slow progress, until the arrival of the wagons and teams from the northward ; but, it being the opinion of the engineers, that we now have a sufficient stock to commence operations, we shall this night open trenches. I take a very singular pleasure in congratulating Congress upon the very important and brilliant victory gained by General Greene on the 8th of September. I am, &c.”

“ *To Edward Rutledge.*

“ Camp, before York, 6 October, 1781.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I am fully impressed with the justice and truth of every remark contained in your letter of the 12th ultimo, and you may be assured, were the means

of carrying your wishes into effect under my control and direction, that they should be applied, as soon as circumstances would admit, to the end which you propose. I have not time, neither could I with prudence enter into the reasons, which I think will operate against carrying your very desirable plan fully into execution. Your good sense will naturally suggest what the principal one is. Of this, however, you may be assured, that, after the present operation is closed, and I hope it will terminate well, every thing which depends upon me, and all the influence I can exert, shall be used towards exterminating the British from the southern States. If we cannot do it entirely, we will at least endeavor to confine them within so narrow bounds, that they will scarcely have enough to found a claim of possession upon. I am, dear sir, &c."

*" To Major-General Greene.*

*" Camp, before York, 6 October, 1781.*

" MY DEAR SIR,—How happy am I, in at length having it in my power to congratulate you upon a victory as splendid as I hope it will prove important. Fortune must have been coy indeed, had she not yielded at last to so persevering a pursuer as you have been. I hope, now she is yours, that she will change her appellation of fickle to that of constant.

" I can say with sincerity, that I feel with the highest degree of pleasure the good effects, which you mention as resulting from the perfect good understanding between you, the Marquis, and myself. I hope it will never be interrupted, and I am sure it never can be while we are all influenced by the same pure motive, that of love to our country and interest in the cause in which we are embarked. I have happily had but few differences with those, with whom I have the honor of being connected in the service. With whom, and of what nature these have been, you know. I bore much for the sake of peace and the public good. My conscience tells me, that I acted right in these transactions ; and, should they ever come to the knowledge of the world, I trust I shall stand acquitted by it.

“ Baron Steuben, from the warmth of his temper, had got disagreeably involved with the State, and an inquiry into part of his conduct must one day take place, both for his own honor and their satisfaction. I have for the present given him a command in this army, which makes him happy. I shall always take pleasure in giving Mrs. Greene’s letters a conveyance ; and, should she persist in the resolution of undertaking so long a journey, as that from New England to Carolina, I hope she will make Mount Vernon, where Mrs. Knox now is, a stage of more than a day or two. With much esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, &c.”

“ *To the President of Congress.*

“ Head-Quarters, before York, 12 October, 1781.

“ SIR,—My last despatch to your Excellency was of the 6th. I then informed you, that we should open trenches that night. We did so, and established our first parallel within six hundred yards of the enemy’s works, with the loss of only one officer of the French artillery wounded, and sixteen privates killed and wounded, the greater part of whom were of the French line.

“ The 7th and 8th we were employed in completing the first parallel, and in erecting batteries somewhat advanced of it. On the 9th, at five o’clock in the afternoon, the American battery on the right opened, having six eighteen and twenty-four pounders, two mortars, and two howitzers ; and at three o’clock the French battery on the left opened, having four twelve-pounders, and six mortars and howitzers. We were informed, that our shells did considerable execution in the town, and we could perceive that our shot, which were directed against the enemy’s embrasures, injured them much. The 10th, two French batteries, one of ten eighteen and twenty-four pounders, and six mortars and howitzers, the other of four eighteen-pounders, opened, as did two more American batteries, one of four eighteen-pounders, the other of two mortars. The fire now became so excessively heavy, that the enemy withdrew their cannon from their embrasures, placed them behind the merlins, and scarcely

fired a shot during the whole day. In the evening the Charon frigate of forty-four guns was set on fire by a hot shot from the French battery on the left, and entirely consumed. Her guns and stores had been taken out. By the report of a deserter, our shells, which were thrown with the utmost degree of precision, did much mischief in the course of the day.

"Yesterday morning two of the enemy's transports were fired by hot shot and burnt. This has occasioned them to warp their shipping as far over to the Gloucester shore as possible. We last night advanced our second parallel within three hundred yards of the enemy's works, with little or no annoyance from them. Only one man was killed, and three or four wounded. I shall think it strange indeed, if Lord Cornwallis makes no vigorous exertions in the course of this night, or very soon after.

"I cannot but acknowledge the infinite obligations I am under to Count de Rochambeau, the Marquis de St. Simon, commanding the troops from the West Indies, the other general officers, and indeed the officers of every denomination in the French army, for the assistance which they afford me. The experience of many of those gentlemen, in the business before us, is of the utmost advantage in the present operation. And I am sensible it must give your Excellency and Congress the highest pleasure to know, that the greatest harmony prevails between the two armies. They seem actuated by one spirit, that of supporting the honor of the allied arms, and pushing their approaches with the utmost vigor.

"I have the honor to be, &c."

"*To the President of Congress.*

"Head-Quarters, before York, 16 October, 1781.

"SIR,—I had the honor to inform your Excellency in my last, of the 12th instant, that we had the evening before opened our second parallel. The 13th and 14th we were employed in completing it. The engineers having deemed the two redoubts on the left of the enemy's line sufficiently injured by our shot and shells to make them practicable, it was determined to carry them by assault

on the evening of the 14th. The following disposition was accordingly made. The work on the enemy's extreme left was to be attacked by the American light-infantry under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette ; the other by a detachment of the French grenadiers and chasseurs, commanded by Major-General the Baron Viomenil. I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that we succeeded in both. Nothing could exceed the firmness and bravery of the troops. They advanced under the fire of the enemy without returning a shot, and effected the business by the bayonet only. The reports of his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, copies of which I enclose, enter more particularly into a detail of the mode in which the attacks on the parts of the French and American columns were conducted. We made prisoners in both redoubts, one major, two captains, three subalterns, and sixty-seven privates.

“ The works, which we have carried, are of vast importance to us. From them we shall enfilade the enemy's whole line, and I am in hopes we shall be able to command the communication from York to Gloucester. I think the batteries of the second parallel will be in sufficient forwardness to begin to play in the course of this day. The enemy last night made a sortie for the first time. They entered one of the French and one of the American batteries on the second parallel, which were unfinished. They had only time to thrust the points of their bayonets into the touch-holes of four pieces of the French and two of the American artillery, and break them off ; but the spikes were easily extracted. They were repulsed the moment the supporting troops came up, leaving behind them seven or eight dead, and six prisoners. The French had four officers and twelve privates killed and wounded, and we had one sergeant mortally wounded. I enclose to your Excellency a return of the killed and wounded of both armies up to the present time. It is much smaller than might have been expected. I have the honor to be, &c.”

*“ To Count de Grasse.*

“ Head-Quarters, before York, 17 October, 1781.

“ SIR,—I had yesterday evening the honor of receiving your Excellency’s favor of the same date. Sixteen flat-boats will be ready to meet the ships whenever the wind shall admit their ascending the river. I cannot conceive the reason why no more pilots have gone down to you. The Governor sent immediately to those, who were recommended by Captain Lilly.

“ I do myself the honor to transmit the copy of a letter, which I have just received from Lord Cornwallis. I have informed him in answer thereto, that I wish him, previous to the meeting of the commissioners, to send his proposals in writing to the American lines, for which purpose a cessation of hostilities for two hours will be allowed.

“ I should be anxious to have the honor of your Excellency’s participation in the treaty, which will, according to present appearance, shortly take place. I need not add how happy it will make me to welcome your Excellency in the name of America on this shore, and embrace you upon an occasion so advantageous to the interests of the common cause, and on which it is so much indebted to you.

“ Should naval reasons deprive me of this happiness, by requiring your Excellency’s presence on board, I entreat that you will be pleased to appoint an officer to represent you, and take charge of the capitulation to be signed by your Excellency. I am, dear sir, &c.”

*“ To Brigadier-General de Choisy.*

“ Head-Quarters, 19 October, 1781.

“ SIR,—I have the honor, with many congratulations, to inform you that one o’clock this afternoon is appointed for the delivery of two of the enemy’s redoubts on the Gloucester side; one to a detachment of French, the other to a detachment of American troops. The garrison is to march out at three o’clock, (with shouldered arms, drums beating a British or German march, the cavalry with their swords drawn, and the colors of the whole



cased,) to a place which you will be so good as to appoint, in front of the posts, where they will ground their arms, and afterwards return to their encampment. You will be so good as to communicate this to General Weedon, and to make the necessary arrangements, and desire him to take every precaution to prevent the loss or embezzlement of the arms. I am, &c."

*" To the President of Congress.*

*" Head-Quarters, near York, 19 October, 1781.*

"SIR,—I have the honor to inform Congress that a reduction of the British army, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, is most happily effected. The unremitting ardor, which actuated every officer and soldier in the combined army on this occasion, has principally led to this important event, at an earlier period than my most sanguine hopes had induced me to expect.

"The singular spirit of emulation, which animated the whole army from the first commencement of our operations, has filled my mind with the highest pleasure and satisfaction, and had given me the happiest presages of success.

"On the 17th instant, a letter was received from Lord Cornwallis, proposing a meeting of commissioners to consult on terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. This letter (the first that had passed between us) opened a correspondence, a copy of which I do myself the honor to enclose; that correspondence was followed by the definitive capitulation, which was agreed to and signed on the 19th, a copy of which I herewith transmit, and which, I hope, will meet with the approbation of Congress.

"I should be wanting in feelings of gratitude, did I not mention, on this occasion, with the warmest sense of acknowledgement, the very cheerful and able assistance, which I have received in the course of our operation from his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau. Nothing could equal this zeal of our allies, but the emulating spirit of the American officers, whose ardor would not suffer their exertions to be exceeded.

“The very uncommon degree of duty and fatigue, which the nature of the service required from the officers of engineers and artillery of both armies, obliges me particularly to mention the obligations I am under to the commanding and other officers of those corps.

“I wish it were in my power to express to Congress, how much I feel myself indebted to the Count de Grasse and the officers of the fleet under his command, for the distinguished aid and support which have been afforded by them, between whom and the army the most happy concurrence of sentiments and views has subsisted, and from whom every possible co-operation has been experienced, which the most harmonious intercourse could afford.

“Returns of the prisoners, military stores, ordnance, shipping, and other matters, I shall do myself the honor to transmit to Congress, as soon as they can be collected by the heads of the departments to which they belong.

“Colonel Laurens and the Viscount de Noailles, on the part of the combined army, were the gentlemen who acted as commissioners for forming and settling the terms of capitulation and surrender, herewith transmitted, to whom I am particularly obliged for their readiness and attention exhibited on the occasion.

“Colonel Tilghman, one of my aids-de-camp, will have the honor to deliver these despatches to your Excellency; he will be able to inform you of every minute circumstance, which is not particularly mentioned in my letter. His merits, which are too well known to need any observations at this time, have gained my particular attention, and I could wish that they may be honored by the notice of your Excellency and Congress.

“Your Excellency and Congress will be pleased to accept my congratulations on this happy event, and believe me to be, with the highest esteem, &c.”

The army of Lord Cornwallis, which surrendered at Yorktown, was composed of about seven thousand men. The event produced, as may well be supposed, the greatest excitement throughout the continent. It was justly con-

sidered as decisive of the issue of the struggle. The successive steps in the transaction, beginning with the first movement of the combined armies from the vicinity of New York, and extending to the complete investment of the British camp at Yorktown, were taken with such rapidity, the combinations were so skilfully arranged, the result so speedily secured, that the imaginations of men were dazzled, and the hearts of the friends of the American cause were filled with rapturous admiration and gratitude. Dr. Franklin thus wrote to Washington, from Paris, on receiving the intelligence : "All the world agree, that no expedition was ever better planned or better executed. It has made a great addition to the military reputation you had already acquired, and heightens the glory that surrounds your name, and that must accompany it to our latest posterity."

The following letters from Washington relate to the capture of Cornwallis, and show with what vigilant forethought he provided for the future, while exchanging congratulations with his countrymen, on the success which had crowned their efforts. His prudence was unailing, and nothing could so engage his thoughts as to prevent his anxious and ever-faithful care for the cause committed to him. While every other man in America was absorbed in the joyful contemplation of the great victory at Yorktown, the thoughtful and cautious mind of Washington was planning new military measures and movements, and contriving the means of carrying the country through the struggles which, for aught that was then known, might still be in reserve. Time proved that the war was substantially closed by the capture of Cornwallis, but it was the part of a wise and prudent general and patriot to be prepared for either alternative of an immediate peace, or a still more desperate and powerful attempt on the part of the enemy to recover the country. Perhaps the measures of the American General, and the attempts he was known to be making to call out, on a greater scale than before, the resources of the United Colonies, hastened the councils of the mother country to the conclusion which they shortly reached, to

relinquish the contest, and surrender their claims of empire over their revolutionized and victorious provinces in America.

“ *To the President of Congress.*

“ *Head-Quarters, 26 October, 1781.*

“ SIR,—I do myself the honor to enclose to your Excellency copies of returns of prisoners, arms, artillery, ordnance, and other stores surrendered by the enemy in their posts of York and Gloucester on the 19th instant, which were not completed at the time of my last despatches, and are but this moment handed to me. A draught of these posts, with the plan of attack and defence, is also transmitted, and twenty-four standards taken at the same time are ready to be laid before Congress.

“ Our operations against the enemy in this State being concluded, it becomes my duty to inform Congress of the disposition I have made for the future destination of the troops under my command. The Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia Continental troops are ordered as a re-enforcement to the army under General Greene. I shall myself, with the troops of the States to the northward of Pennsylvania, return to my former position on the North River and the communications with it. The first-mentioned division, composing a body of two thousand men, under the direction of the Marquis de Lafayette, will, on their way to South Carolina, make an expedition against the enemy's posts at Wilmington in North Carolina. To effect which purpose, they will be transported to a proper point of debarkation, under convoy of the Count de Grasse, who encourages me, if circumstances and the situation of the water will admit, to give them his co-operation, so long as shall be necessary to accomplish, by a *coup de main*, their object at Wilmington. Immediately upon the reduction of that post, the troops will proceed to join General Greene.

“ That I may not, from the above arrangement, incur the censure of Congress, or the States, who may have flattered themselves with an expectation of my pushing my operations further southward than this State ; in

justice to my own endeavors, and for the satisfaction of Congress, I find myself obliged to transmit to your Excellency a summary of reasons, which have induced my determination. In doing which, I take the liberty to submit to Congress copies of two propositions, which I have had the honor to make to Count de Grasse, with his answers to each. The first, which was made immediately on my arrival at Williamsburg, and is dated the 18th of September, will show, that other objects than the reduction of the British force under the command of Lord Cornwallis were early in my contemplation, and will also declare what were at that time the sentiments of the French admiral. The second proposition, made after the surrender of the British army, will evince with how much reluctance I was brought to relinquish a further prosecution of favorite views. In addition to these two communications, Congress will scarcely need to be informed, that, having no means of water conveyance, the transportation, by land, of the army, with all their baggage, artillery, ordnance stores, and every apparatus necessary for the siege of Charleston, would be impracticable, and attended with such immense trouble, expense, and delay, as would (exclusive of the necessity of naval co-operation) be sufficient to deter me from the undertaking; especially as the enemy, after regaining the naval superiority on this coast, could re-enforce or withdraw the garrison at pleasure.

“The prosecution, therefore, of the southern war, upon that broad scale which I had wished, being as I judge to be relinquished, nothing remained in my opinion more eligible, than to re-enforce General Greene’s army to such a state of respectability, as that he might be able to command the country of South Carolina, and at the same time, if possible, by that re-enforcement to effect an accomplishment of the smaller object mentioned; and to march myself, with the remainder of the army, to the North River, where they would be ready at the ensuing campaign to commence such operations against New York, as may be hereafter concerted, or to effect any other purposes that may be judged practicable or eligible.

Add to these reasons, that Count de Rochambeau, from the exhausted state of his stores and other considerations, seemed inclined to take his resolution to remain in this State with his troops for the winter, at any rate six weeks to refresh them. Upon a full consideration of the reasons offered, I flatter myself, that my conduct will stand approved in the judgement of Congress, whose approbation I shall ever be solicitous to obtain.

“ I enclose, also, for the observation of Congress, a copy of my letter to the Ministers of the United States at the courts of Europe, conveying to them the intelligence of our success in this State against the British troops. The reasons for this conduct, as stated in that letter, I must rely upon, as my justification with Congress for the liberty taken by me in that communication.

“ Unacquainted with the state of politics between Congress and the courts of Europe respecting future negotiations, whatever our prospects from that quarter may be, I cannot justify myself to my own mind without urging Congress in the warmest terms to make every arrangement for an early and efficacious campaign the ensuing year, that may be found necessary. Arguments, I flatter myself, need not be adduced to impress on Congress the high importance of this idea. Whatever may be the events of the coming winter or ensuing summer, an effectual and early preparation for military operations will put us upon the most respectable footing, either for war or negotiation ; while a relaxation will place us in a disreputable situation in point of peaceful prospects, and will certainly expose us to the most disgraceful disasters, in case of a continuance of the hostile disposition of our enemies.

“ Nothing is yet heard of Admiral Digby, with his fleet, near these coasts. Whatever his intentions may be, Count de Grasse, I believe, is ready to meet him.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.

“ P. S. *October 29th.* In the moment of closing my despatch, I am favored with the definitive determination of the Count de Grasse respecting the troops, whom I

hoped to have transported to Wilmington by water. His ideas are communicated in his letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, a copy of which I transmit herewith. In consequence of this resolution, and having no transports, I am obliged to send on the troops destined for the southern district by land. They will commence their march in a few days, under the command of Major-General St. Clair. The command of the expedition against Wilmington had been promised to the Marquis, upon the contingency of the troops being transported by water. On the failure of this event, the Marquis does not proceed with the re-enforcement. My present despatch being important, I have committed it to the care of Colonel Humphreys, one of my aids-de-camp, whom for his attention, fidelity, and good services, I beg leave to recommend to the notice of Congress and your Excellency."

*" To the President of Congress.*

*" Mount Vernon, 15 November, 1781.*

" SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 31st ultimo, covering the resolutions of Congress of the 29th, and a proclamation for a day of public prayer and thanksgiving, and have to thank you, sir, most sincerely for the very polite and affectionate manner in which these enclosures have been conveyed. The success of the combined arms against our enemies at York and Gloucester, as it affects the welfare and independence of the United States, I viewed as a most fortunate event. In performing my part towards its accomplishment, I consider myself to have done only my duty, and in the execution of that I ever feel myself happy ; and at the same time, as it augurs well to our cause, I take a particular pleasure in acknowledging, that the interposing hand of Heaven, in the various instances of our extensive preparations for this operation, has been most conspicuous and remarkable.

" After the receipt of your favor, I received official information through the Secretary of Congress, of the new choice of their President. While I congratulate you, sir, on a release from the fatigues and troubles of so

arduous and important a task, I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the pleasure and satisfaction, which I have received in the correspondence with which you have honored me, and the many interesting communications of intelligence with which you have favored me. I am, dear sir, &c."

*"To William Ramsay William Rumney, John Fitzgerald, Robert F. Hooe, and others, inhabitants of Alexandria.*

*"Alexandria, 20 November, 1781.*

"GENTLEMEN,—I accept with peculiar satisfaction the very kind and affectionate address of the citizens of Alexandria. The long experience, which in former times I have had of their sincerity and cordiality, stamps it with particular value; and permit me to say, that, to make a peaceful return to this agreeable society of my fellow-citizens, is among the most ardent of my wishes, and would prove my greatest comfort for all the toils and vicissitudes, which I have experienced during my absence.

"The great Director of events has carried us through a variety of scenes, during this long and bloody contest, in which we have been for seven campaigns most nobly struggling. The present prospect is pleasing. The late success at Yorktown is very promising, but on our own improvement of it depend its future good consequences. A vigorous prosecution of this success will, in all probability, procure us what we have so long wished to secure, an establishment of peace, liberty, and independence. A relaxation of our exertions at this moment may cost us many more toilsome campaigns, and be attended with the most unhappy consequences.

"Your condolence for the loss of that amiable youth, Mr. Custis, affects me most tenderly. The loss, I trust, will be compensated to you in some other worthy representative.

"Amidst all the vicissitudes of time or fortune, be assured, gentlemen, that I shall ever regard with particular affection the citizens and inhabitants of Alexandria. I am, gentlemen, &c."



*"To George Plater, President of the Senate, and Thomas Cockey Day, Speaker of the House of Delegates, of Maryland.*

*"Annapolis, 22 November, 1781.*

"GENTLEMEN,—I very sensibly feel the honor, which has this day been conferred upon me by the vote of thanks of so respectable a body, as that of the General Assembly of the State of Maryland. The regard, which they have been pleased to express for me personally, the delicate manner in which they have recalled to view those distant events, which in some degree led to our present happy situation, and the general approbation, which they have generously bestowed upon the whole of my conduct, must ever secure to them my warmest esteem, and must at the same time operate as fresh incentives to merit their future good opinion.

"It is with the highest degree of pleasure I observe, that a proper allowance has been made for the capital share, which the land and sea forces of our great and good ally had in the reduction of the common enemy at York in Virginia. I should deem myself unpardonable, were I not upon every occasion, more especially upon such a one as the present, to declare, that to the sound counsels and vigorous exertions of their Excellencies Count de Rochambeau and Count de Grasse, much, very much, was owing.

"While I agree in sentiment with the honorable bodies over which you preside, that we may entertain a rational ground of belief, that, under the favor of Divine Providence, the freedom, independence, and happiness of America will shortly be established upon the surest foundation, I think it a duty incumbent upon me to observe, that those most desirable objects are not to be fully attained but by a continuance of those exertions, which have already so greatly humbled the power of our inveterate enemies. Relaxation upon our part will give them time to recollect and recover themselves; whereas a vigorous prosecution of the war must inevitably crush their remaining force in these States, or put them to the necessity of entirely withdrawing themselves.

"I cannot conclude, without expressing my warmest wishes for the prosperity of a State, which has ever stood among the foremost, in her support of the common cause. I confess myself under particular obligations for the ready attention, which I have ever experienced, to those requisitions, which, in the course of my duty, I have occasionally been under the necessity of making."

The winter of 1781—2 was passed by Washington in Philadelphia, to which place he had repaired, to confer with Congress, who were in session there. The following addresses passed between them on the 28th of November, the day after his arrival :

"SIR,—Congress, at all times happy in seeing your Excellency, feel particular pleasure in your presence, at this time, after the glorious success of the allied arms in Virginia. It is their fixed purpose to draw every advantage from it, by exhorting the States, in the strongest terms, to the most vigorous and timely exertions. A committee has accordingly been appointed, to state the requisitions necessary to be made, for the establishment of the army, and they are instructed to confer with you upon that subject. It is, therefore, the expectation of Congress, that your Excellency would remain, for some time, in Philadelphia, that they may avail themselves of your aid, in this important business, and that you may enjoy a respite from the fatigues of war, as far as is consistent with the service."

"MR. PRESIDENT,—I feel, very sensibly, the favorable declaration of Congress, expressed by your Excellency. This fresh proof of their approbation cannot fail of making a deep impression upon me ; and my study shall be, to deserve a continuance of it. It is with peculiar pleasure, I hear that it is the fixed purpose of Congress, to exhort the States to the most vigorous and timely exertions. A compliance on their part will, I persuade myself, be productive of the most happy consequences. I shall yield a ready obedience to the expectation of Congress, and give every assistance in my power to their

committee. I am obliged by the goodness of Congress, in making my personal ease and convenience a part of their concern. Should the service require my attendance with the army, upon the North River, or elsewhere, I shall repair to whatever place my duty calls, with the same pleasure that I remain in this city."

The following letter was addressed, as a circular, to the several States.

"Philadelphia, 22d Jan. 1782.

"SIR,—Although it may be somewhat out of my province to address your Excellency, on a subject not immediately of a military nature, yet, I consider it so nearly connected with, and so essential to, the operations under my direction, that I flatter myself, my interference will not be deemed impertinent.

"Upon applying to the superintendent of finance, to know how far I might depend upon him, for the pay, feeding, and clothing, of the army, for the current year, and for the sums necessary to put it, and keep it, in motion, he very candidly laid open to me the state of our moneyed affairs, and convinced me, that, although the assistance we had derived from abroad was considerable, yet it would be, by no means, adequate to our expenses. He informed me further, that, to make up the deficiency, the States had been called upon, by Congress, for eight millions of dollars, for the service of the year 1782, and showed me the copy of a circular letter, from himself, to the several Legislatures, in which he had so fully and clearly pointed out the necessity of a compliance with the requisition, that it is needless for me to say more on that head, than that I entirely concur with him in opinion, so far as he has gone into the matter. But there are other reasons, which could not be so well known to him; as they are to me, as having come under my immediate observation, and which, therefore, I shall take the liberty to mention.

"Your Excellency cannot but remember the ferment, into which the whole army was thrown, twelve months ago, for the want of pay, and a regular supply of clothing

and provisions ; and with how much difficulty they were brought into temper, by a partial supply of the two first, and a promise of more regular supplies of all, in future. Those promises, the soldiery now begin to claim ; and, although we shall be able to satisfy them tolerably, in respect to clothing, and perfectly, in regard to provisions, if the financier is enabled to comply with his contracts, yet there is no prospect of obtaining pay, until a part of the money, required of the States, can be brought into the public treasury. You cannot conceive the uneasiness which arises, from the total want of so essential an article as money, and the real difficulties in which the officers, in particular, are involved, on that account. The favorable aspect of our affairs, and the hopes that matters are in a train, to afford them relief, contribute to keep them quiet ; but I cannot answer for the effects of a disappointment

“ Enabling the financier to comply with his contracts is a matter of the utmost consequence ; the very existence of the army depends upon it. Should he fail in his payments, the contract ceases, and there is no alternative left, but to disband, or live upon the seizure of the neighboring property. The saving to the public, by feeding an army by contract, is too well known, to need any illustration, and that, alone, ought to be a sufficient inducement to the States, to find the means of adhering to it.

“ It will, perhaps, be urged, that the sum called for is immense, and beyond the ability of the country to pay. There is one plain answer to that objection, should it be made. It is, that, if the war is carried on, a certain expense must be incurred, and that such expense must be drawn from the people, either by a partial, cruel, and, I may say, illegal, seizure of the property, which lies most convenient to the army, or by a regular and equitable tax in money or specific articles. Money, if it can be procured, is to be preferred, because it is neither liable to waste, nor is it expensive in the mode of collection or transportation. Whereas, I think I may venture to say, that a great proportion of the specific articles has been wasted, after the people have furnished them, and that the transportation alone, of what have reached the army, has,

in numberless instances, cost more than the value of the articles themselves.

“To bring this war to a speedy and happy conclusion must be the fervent wish of every lover of his country ; and sure I am, that no means are so likely to effect this, as vigorous preparations for another campaign. Whether, then, we consult our true interest, substantial economy, or sound policy, we shall find, that relaxation and languor are, of all things, to be avoided. Conduct of that kind, on our part, will produce fresh hopes and new exertions, on that of the enemy ; whereby the war, which has already held out beyond the general expectation, may be protracted to such a length, that the people, groaning under the burden of it, and despairing of success, may think any change, a change for the better.

“I will close with a request, that your Excellency will be good enough to take the first opportunity of laying these sentiments before the legislature of your State. From the attention, which they have ever been pleased to pay to any former requisitions or representations of mine, I am encouraged to hope that the present, which is equally important with any I have ever made, will meet with a favorable reception. I have the honor to be, &c.”

On the thirty-first of January, 1782, he addressed another circular letter to the States, of which the following is a part :

“At this advanced stage of the war, it might seem to be an insult to the understanding, to suppose a long train of reasoning necessary, to prove that a respectable force in the field is essential to the establishment of our liberties and independence ; yet, as I am apprehensive the prosperous issue of the combined operation, in Virginia, may have, (as is too common, in such cases,) the pernicious tendency of lulling the country into a lethargy of inactivity and security ; and, as I feel my own reputation, as well as the interest, the honor, the glory, and happiness, of my country, intimately connected with the event, I will ask the indulgence to speak more freely on those accounts, and to make some of the observations which the present moment seems to suggest.

“ The broken and perplexed state of the enemy’s affairs, and the successes of the last campaign, on our part, ought to be a powerful incitement to vigorous preparations for the next. Unless we strenuously exert ourselves, to profit by these successes, we shall not only lose all the solid advantages that might be derived from them ; but we shall become contemptible in our own eyes, in the eyes of our enemy, in the opinion of posterity, and even in the estimation of the whole world, which will consider us as a nation, unworthy of prosperity, because we know not how to make a right use of it.

“ Although we cannot, by the best concerted plans, absolutely command success ; although the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong ; yet, without presumptuously waiting for miracles to be wrought in our favor, it is our indispensable duty, with the deepest gratitude to Heaven for the past, and humble confidence in its smiles on our future operations, to make use of all the means in our power, for our defence and security. This period is particularly important, because no circumstances, since the commencement of the war, have been so favorable to the recruiting service, as the present ; and because it is to be presumed, from the increase of population, and the brilliant prospects before us, that it is actually in our power, to complete the army, before the opening of the campaign. However flattering these prospects may be, much still remains to be done, which cannot probably be effected, unless the army is recruited to its establishment ; and, consequently, the continuance or termination of the war seems principally to rest on the vigor and decision of the States, in this interesting point. And, finally, it is our first object of policy, under every supposable or possible case, to have a powerful army early in the field ; for we must suppose the enemy are either disposed to prosecute the war, or to enter into a negotiation for peace. There is no other alternative. On the former supposition, a respectable army becomes necessary, to counteract the enemy, and to prevent the accumulating expenses of a lingering war ; on the latter, nothing but a decidedly superior force can enable us boldly to claim our rights, and

dictate the law at the pacification. So that, whatever the disposition of the enemy may be, it is evidently our only interest and economy, to act liberally, and exert ourselves greatly, during the present winter, to cut off, at once, all the expenses of the war, by putting a period to it.

“ And soon might that day arrive, and we might hope to enjoy all the blessings of peace, if we could see again the same animation, in the cause of our country, inspiring every breast ; the same passion for freedom and military glory impelling our youths to the field ; and the same disinterested patriotism, pervading every rank of men, that was conspicuous at the commencement of this glorious Revolution. And I am persuaded that only some great occasion was wanting, such as the present moment exhibits, to rekindle the latent sparks of that patriotic fire into a generous flame ; to rouse again the unconquerable spirit of liberty, which has sometimes seemed to slumber, for a while, into the full vigor of action.

“ I cannot now conclude this letter, without expressing my full expectation, that the several States, animated with the noblest principles, and convinced of the policy of complying, faithfully, with the requisitions, will be only emulous, which shall be foremost, in furnishing its quota of men ; that the calculations of the numbers wanted, to fill the deficiencies, may be so ample, as, allowing for all the casualties and deductions, will be sufficient, certainly, to complete the battalions ; that the measures, for this purpose, may be so explicit, pointed, and energetic, as will inevitably furnish the recruits, in season ; and that such checks may be established, to prevent imposition, as to the quality of the men, that no recruits may be accepted, but those who are, in fact, able-bodied and effective. Should any of a different description be sent to the army, they must be rejected, the expense thrown away, and the service injured, though others are required to fill their places ; for it is only deceiving ourselves with having a nominal, instead of a real, force, and consuming the public provisions and clothing to no effect, to attempt to impose decrepid and improper men or boys upon us, as soldiers.”

## CHAPTER XX.

*Remainder of the War.*

IN the spring of 1782, the firmness of Washington's character was illustrated, and his feelings tried, by the circumstances connected with the murder of Captain Huddy, by a party of loyalists, and with the proceedings upon which it was necessary to enter, for the purpose of retaliation. This affair is one of the most interesting incidents of the war, and will be best presented to the reader by selections from Washington's correspondence relating to it. It appears that Captain Huddy, who commanded a small body of troops, at a post on Tom's River, in Monmouth county, New Jersey, had been attacked by a party of refugees from New York, and, after a gallant defence, was taken prisoner by them. He was conveyed to New York, and there put in close confinement. "On the 12th of April, he was sent out of the city, in the charge of a number of refugees, commanded by Captain Lippencot, and hanged on the heights near Middletown. The people in the neighborhood were extremely exasperated at this act of wanton barbarity ; and, at their solicitation, General Forman, who resided at Monmouth, obtained affidavits, and a proper statement of facts, with which he first went to Elizabethtown, where the American commissioners, General Knox and Gouverneur Morris, were then attempting to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, and laid the matter before them. By their advice, he proceeded to General Washington's Head-Quarters, and his statement, and the papers of which he was the bearer, were submitted to the consideration of the general and field-officers," in the following letter.

*" To the General and Field Officers of the Army.*

*" Head-Quarters, 19 April, 1782.*

*" The Commander-in-chief submits the papers accompanying this, containing the case of Captain Joshua Hud-*



dy, lately hanged within the county of Monmouth, in New Jersey State, by a party of the enemy, to the consideration of the general officers of brigades and regiments, and thereupon requests from them, separately and in writing, a direct and laconic reply to the following queries.

“ 1. Upon the state of facts, in the above case, is retaliation justifiable and expedient ?

“ 2. If justifiable, ought it to take place immediately, or should a previous representation be made to Sir Henry Clinton, and satisfaction demanded from him ?

“ 3. In case of representation and demand, who should be the person or persons to be required ?

“ 4. In case of refusal, and retaliation becoming necessary, of what description shall the officer be, on whom it is to take place ; and how shall he be designated for the purpose ?”

The officers, to whom these questions were addressed, assembled at the quarters of General Heath ; they were twenty-five in number. Colonel Humphries and Colonel Trumbull, of the military family of the Commander-in-chief, also attended. Upon communicating to the officers the questions, they were forbidden to hold any conversation in reference to them, but to prepare answers in writing, and each one was to seal up his reply, and send it, forthwith, to the Commander-in-chief. They were found to be unanimous in the opinion, that retaliation ought to take place, and that it should be inflicted on an officer of the same rank as Captain Huddy, and that he should be selected by lot from the British officers of that rank, then in their possession, as prisoners of war. Twenty-three were of opinion, that satisfaction ought, in the first place, to be demanded of Sir Henry Clinton. Three thought that the circumstances required immediate execution.

“ *To Brigadier-General Knox, and Gouverneur Morris, at Elizabethtown.*

“ Newburgh, 20 April, 1782.

“ GENTLEMEN,—I have been favored with your letter of the 16th of April, by General Forman. Convinced, from the state of facts, which has been exhibited to me,

that justice, expediency, and necessity require, that satisfaction should be obtained for the murder of Captain Huddy, I have in the first instance made a representation to Sir Henry Clinton, and demanded that the officer, who commanded the party, or, if he was not a captain, such a number of agents in the execution, as are equal by tariff to that rank, should be delivered up to condign punishment. In case of refusal, I have formed the resolution, that retaliation shall take place upon a British officer of equal rank. It therefore remains with the enemy alone to prevent this distressing alternative ; for, having formed my opinion upon the most mature reflection and deliberation, I can never recede from it.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.”

“ *To Sir Henry Clinton.*

“ *Head-Quarters, 21 April, 1782.*

“ **SIR,**—The enclosed representation from the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, with testimonials to the facts, which can be corroborated by other unquestionable evidence, will bring before your Excellency the most wanton, unprecedented, and inhuman murder, that ever disgraced the arms of a civilized people.

“ I shall not, because I believe it to be altogether unnecessary, trouble your Excellency with any animadversions upon this transaction. Candor obliges me to be explicit. To save the innocent, I demand the guilty. Captain Lippencot, therefore, or the officer who commanded at the execution of Captain Huddy, must be given up ; or, if that officer was of inferior rank to him, so many of the perpetrators as will, according to the tariff of exchange, be an equivalent. To do this, will mark the justice of your Excellency’s character. In failure of it, I shall hold myself justifiable, in the eyes of God and man, for the measure to which I shall resort.

“ I beg your Excellency to be persuaded, that it cannot be more disagreeable to you to be addressed in this language, than it is to me to offer it ; but the subject requires frankness and decision. I have to request your

speedy determination, as my resolution is suspended but for your answer. I am, sir, &c."

*"To Brigadier-General Hazen.*

*"Head-Quarters, 3 May, 1782.*

"SIR,—The enemy, persisting in that barbarous line of conduct, which they have pursued during the course of this war, have lately most inhumanly executed Captain Joshua Huddy, of the Jersey State troops, taken prisoner by them at a post on Tom's River; and in consequence I have written to the British Commander-in-chief, that, unless the perpetrators of that horrid deed were delivered up, I should be under the disagreeable necessity of retaliating, as the only means left to put a stop to such inhuman proceedings.

"You will, therefore, immediately on receipt of this, designate by lot for the above purpose a British captain, who is an unconditional prisoner, if such a one is in your possession; if not, a lieutenant under the same circumstances from among the prisoners at any of the posts, either in Pennsylvania or Maryland. So soon as you have fixed on the person, you will send him under a safeguard to Philadelphia, where the Minister of War will order a proper guard to receive and conduct him to the place of his destination.

"For your information respecting the officers, who are prisoners in our possession, I have ordered the commissary of prisoners to furnish you with a list of them. It will be forwarded with this. I need not mention to you, that every possible tenderness, that is consistent with the security of him, should be shown to the person whose unfortunate lot it may be to suffer.

"I am, dear sir, &c."

*"To the Secretary at War.*

*"Newburg, 4 May, 1782.*

"DEAR SIR,—By the letter to Brigadier-General Hazen, which I have enclosed to you under a flying seal for your inspection, you will observe the distressing alternative to which we are at last reduced. I must request you will give that letter a safe and speedy conveyance.

“ As soon as the British officer, whose unfortunate lot it is to be designated as the object of retaliation, shall arrive in Philadelphia, it will be necessary to have a sufficient escort, under the command of a very discreet and vigilant officer, in readiness to receive and conduct him to the cantonment of the New Jersey troops. I pray you will be pleased to give the orders proper for the occasion, and direct the officer commanding the party to apply to the commandant of the Jersey line, who will have final instructions respecting the matter.

“ Keenly wounded as my feelings will be, at the deplorable destiny of the unhappy victim, no gleam of hope can arise to him but from the conduct of the enemy themselves. This he may be permitted to communicate to the British Commander-in-chief, in whose power alone it rests to avert the impending vengeance from the innocent by executing it on the guilty. At the same time it may be announced, that I will receive no application nor answer any letter on the subject, which does not inform me that ample satisfaction is made for the death of Captain Huddy on the perpetrators of that horrid deed.

“ *To Governor Trumbull.*

“ Head-Quarters, 8 May, 1782.

“ SIR,—I had the honor to receive your Excellency's favor of the 24th of April, enclosing a copy of your letter to Congress, on the subject of American prisoners confined in England, with your sentiments on the necessity of retaliation.

“ I am sorry to inform your Excellency, that a meeting of commissioners, which had, among other matters, been concerted for the purposes of a general exchange, comprehending a release of our countrymen prisoners in Europe, as well as others, has unhappily been dissolved, without effecting any one of those benevolent purposes, which were the object, on our part, of their mission. This circumstance, I fear, will be a means of placing any future exchanges at a great distance. No measure, however, in my power, shall be omitted to effect so desirable an event.

“ I have the honor to concur in sentiment with your

Excellency on the subject of retaliation, and to inform you, that the circumstances attending the death of Captain Huddy are likely to bring that matter to a point. A demand has been made by me for the principal perpetrators of that horrid deed. The reply to this demand, received from General Robertson, is not satisfactory. I have therefore informed him, that orders are given to designate by lot a British officer of the rank of Captain Huddy for retaliation; that the time and place for his execution are fixed; and that nothing can stay my resolution from being carried into complete effect, but a strict compliance with my first requisition. General Robertson's answer will bring this ungrateful business to an issue. I have the honor to be, &c."

*"To Brigadier-General Hazen.*

*"Head-Quarters, 18 May, 1782.*

"SIR,—It was much my wish to take for the purpose of retaliation an officer, who was an unconditional prisoner of war. I am just informed by the Secretary at War, that no one of that description is in our power. I am therefore under the disagreeable necessity to direct, that you immediately select, in the manner before prescribed, from among the British captains, who are prisoners either under capitulation or convention, one who is to be sent on as soon as possible, under the regulations and restrictions contained in my former instructions to you.

*"I am, sir, &c."*

General Hazen informed General Washington of the manner in which he had discharged his duty in this painful transaction, in a letter from which the following is taken:

"On the evening of the 25th instant I received your Excellency's letters of the 3d and 18th. As I had to collect the British captains, prisoners of war at this place and Yorktown, it was ten o'clock this morning before I could assemble those gentlemen together. At the drawing of lots, which was done in the presence of Major Gordon and all the British captains within the limits pre-

scribed, the unfortunate lot has fallen on Captain Charles Asgill, of the guards, a young gentleman nineteen years of age ; a most amiable character ; the only son of Sir Charles Asgill ; heir to an extensive fortune and an honorable title ; and of course he has great interest in the British court and army. The British officers are highly enraged at the conduct of Sir Henry Clinton ; they have solicited my leave to send an officer to New York on this occasion, or that I would intercede with the Minister of War to grant it. Being fully convinced, that no inconvenience could possibly arise to our cause from this indulgence, but, on the contrary, that good policy and humanity dictate the measure, I was pleased at the application, and with cheerfulness have recommended to the Minister of War to grant the Honorable Captain Ludlow, son to the Earl of Ludlow, leave to carry the representations of those unfortunate officers, who openly declare they have been deserted by their General, and given up to suffer for the sins of the guilty. I must here beg leave to remark, that, since my command at this place, as far as I have been able to discover, those unfortunate officers have conducted with great propriety, and, as I sensibly feel for their disagreeable situation, I hold it as a part of my duty to endeavor to alleviate their distresses by such indulgences, as may not be prejudicial to our service."

Major Gordon, the British officer mentioned in the foregoing extract, gave the following account of this part of the transaction in a letter to Sir Guy Carleton :—

"I have done all in my power to prevent it, which I hope will meet with your approbation. Lots were drawn by the captains of Lord Cornwallis's army present here, and when the unfortunate chance fell to Captain Asgill, he received it with that firm coolness, that would have reflected honor upon any officer in his Majesty's service. The delicate manner, in which General Hazen communicated his orders to the British officers, shows him to be a man of real feeling, and the mild treatment the prisoners have met with since we came to this place deserves the warmest acknowledgements of every British officer."

*" To Colonel Elias Dayton.*

*" Head-Quarters, 4 June, 1782.*

" SIR,—I am just informed by the Secretary at War, that Captain Asgill, of the British guards, an unfortunate officer, who is destined to be the unhappy victim to atone for the death of Captain Huddy, had arrived in Philadelphia, and would set off very soon for the Jersey line, the place assigned for his execution. He will probably arrive as soon as this will reach you, and will be attended by Captain Ludlow, his friend, whom he wishes to be permitted to go into New York, with an address to Sir Guy Carleton in his behalf.

" You will therefore give permission to Captain Ludlow to go by the way of Dobbs's Ferry into New York, with such representation as Captain Asgill shall please to make to Sir Guy Carleton. At the same time, I would wish you to intimate to the gentlemen, that although I am deeply affected with the unhappy fate, to which Captain Asgill is subjected, yet, that it will be to no purpose for them to make any representation to Sir Guy Carleton, which may serve to draw on a discussion of the present point of retaliation ; that, in the stage to which the matter has been suffered to run, all argumentation on the subject is entirely precluded on my part ; that my resolutions have been grounded on so mature deliberation, that they must remain unalterably fixed. You will also inform the gentlemen, that, while my duty calls me to make this decisive determination, humanity prompts a tear for the unfortunate offering, and inclines me to say, that I most devoutly wish his life may be saved. This happy event may be attained ; but it must be effected by the British Commander-in-chief. He knows the alternative, which will accomplish it ; and he knows, that this alternative only can avert the dire extremity from the innocent, and that in this way alone the manes of the murdered Captain Huddy will be best appeased.

" In the mean time, while this is doing, I must beg that you will be pleased to treat Captain Asgill with every tender attention and politeness (consistent with his pres-

ent situation) which his rank, fortune, and connexions, together with his unfortunate state, demand.

“I am, dear sir, &c.”

“*To Colonel Elias Dayton.*

“Head-Quarters, 11 June, 1782.

“SIR,—You will inform me, as early as possible, of the present situation of Captain Asgill, the prisoner destined for retaliation, and what prospect he has of relief from his application to Sir Guy Carleton, which I have been informed he has made through his friend Captain Ludlow. I have heard nothing yet from New York in consequence of this application. His fate will be suspended till I can be informed of the decision of Sir Guy Carleton ; but I am impatient, lest this should be unreasonably delayed. The enemy ought to have learned before this, that my resolutions are not to be trifled with.

“I am, &c.

“P. S. I am informed that Captain Asgill is at Chatham without guard, and under no constraint. This, if true, is certainly wrong. I wish to have the young gentleman treated with all the tenderness possible, consistent with his present situation ; but, until his fate is determined, he must be considered as a close prisoner, and be kept in the greatest security. I request, therefore, that he be sent immediately to the Jersey line, where he is to be kept a close prisoner, in perfect security, till further orders.”

“*To John Dickinson, President of Delaware.*

“Head-Quarters, 19 June, 1782.

“SIR,—I feel myself much obliged by the friendly communication of your sentiments to me on the subject of retaliation, conveyed under your favor of the 30th of May, a subject truly disagreeable and distressing to me. The horrid circumstances of barbarity, which introduced the instance now attracting our particular attention, came to me under the representation of so respectable a body of citizens, that they could not but gain my notice and



interposition ; especially from a consideration, that, if it was not taken up in this line, the people, strongly provoked by their feelings, would probably have assumed the matter upon their own decision, and brought it to an issue under their own power, which mode of proceeding, if permitted, would have involved circumstances still more lamentable and calamitous.

“ In taking my resolutions, I also found myself supported by many repeated declarations of Congress on this subject. And after my resolutions were taken, I had the satisfaction to receive the fullest and most decided approbation of that honorable body in this particular instance. But under all these circumstances, although I never had a doubt on the general propriety of the measure, yet it was not my intention, could it be avoided, to take, as a subject of retaliation, an officer under sanction of capitulation or convention ; and my first orders were issued agreeably to that idea ; but unfortunately it was reported to me, that no officer of an unconditional description was in our possession, which laid me under a necessity of giving further orders, exceeding my original intentions, in consequence of which the unhappy lot has fallen upon Captain Asgill, a prisoner under the capitulation of Yorktown.

“ I feel myself exceedingly distressed on this occasion ; but, my resolutions having been taken upon the most mature deliberation, supported by the approbation of Congress, and grounded on the general concurrence of all the principal officers of the army, who were particularly consulted, they cannot be receded from. Justice to the army and the public, my own honor, and, I think I may venture to say, universal benevolence, require them to be carried into full execution. It rests, therefore, with the British Commander-in-chief to prevent this unhappy measure from taking effect. An application is gone to Sir Guy Carleton from Captain Asgill, begging his interposition to avert his fate. The matter is now in agitation ; and I am told that a strict inquiry is making into the conduct of Lippencot, who is charged as being the principal perpetrator of the cruel murder of

Captain Huddy. Should this inquiry lead to a giving of satisfaction by a compliance with my original demand to Sir Henry Clinton, my feelings will be greatly relieved, and I need not assure you, that I shall receive the highest pleasure from such an event. I am, &c."

*" To the President of Congress.*

*" Head-Quarters, Newburg, 19 August, 1782.*

" SIR,—Congress have been already furnished with copies of all letters, which had passed between the commanders-in-chief of the British forces in New York and myself, respecting the murder of Captain Huddy, previous to the last of July. I have now the honor to enclose Sir Guy Carleton's letter of the 1st instant, in reply to mine of the 30th ultimo, and that of the 13th, which accompanied the proceedings of the general court-martial for the trial of Captain Lippencot. The proceedings, together with such other documents as relate to that unfortunate transaction, I also transmit by this opportunity.

" As Sir Guy Carleton, notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippencot, reprobates the measure in unequivocal terms, and has given assurance of prosecuting a further inquiry, it has changed the ground I was proceeding upon, and placed the matter upon an extremely delicate footing.

" It would be assuming in me to ascribe causes for actions different from those, which are ostensibly and plausibly assigned ; but, admitting that General Carleton has no other object than to procrastinate, he has, by disavowing the act, by declaring that it is held in abhorrence, by not even sanctioning the motives, which appear to have influenced Lippencot to become the executioner of Huddy, and by giving the strongest assurances that further inquisition shall be made, so far manifested the appearance of an earnest desire to bring the guilty to punishment, that I fear an act of retaliation upon an innocent person before the result of his inquisition is known, would be considered by the impartial and unprejudiced world in an unfavorable and perhaps an unjustifiable point of view ; and more especially as the great end proposed by retaliation, which is to prevent a repetition of outrages, has

been in a manner answered. For, you will please to observe, by the extract from General Clinton's letter of the 26th of April to Governor Franklin, that he had expressly forbidden the Board of Directors to remove or exchange in future any prisoners of war in the custody of their commissary without having first obtained his approbation and orders.

"The same reasons, which induced me to lay the first steps I took in this affair before Congress, urge me to submit it to them at its present stage. It is a great national concern, upon which an individual ought not to decide. I shall be glad to be favored with the determination of Congress as early as possible, as I shall suspend giving any answer to Sir Guy Carleton, until I am informed how far they are satisfied with his conduct hitherto.

"I cannot close this letter without making a remark upon that part of Sir Guy Carleton's in which he charges me with want of humanity in selecting a victim from among the British officers so early as I did. He ought to consider, that, by the usages of war and upon the principles of retaliation, I should have been justified in executing an officer of equal rank with Captain Huddy immediately upon receiving proofs of his murder, and then informing Sir Henry Clinton that I had done so. Besides, it was impossible for me to foresee, that it would be so very long before the matter would be brought to some kind of issue. I have the honor to be, &c."

*"To James Duane, in Congress.*

*"Verplanck's Point, 30 September, 1782.*

"DEAR SIR,—I shall be obliged to you, or some friend in Congress, to inform me what has been or is likely to be done with respect to my reference of the case of Captain Huddy. I cannot forbear complaining of the cruel situation, which I now am and oftentimes have been placed in, by the silence of Congress in matters of high importance, which the good of the service, and my official duty, have obliged me to call upon them, as the sovereign power of these United States, to decide.

It is only in perplexing and intricate cases, that I have requested their orders, being always willing to bear my proportion of public embarrassments, and take a full share of responsibility. Conscious that I have treated that honorable body, and all their measures, with as much deference and respect as any officer in the United States, I expected this aid.

“Why, then, if policy forbids a decision upon the difficult points I have referred, I am not to be informed of it, is beyond my conception, unless I were to ascribe it to causes, which I flatter myself do not exist. When I refer a matter to Congress, every proceeding on my part is suspended, until their pleasure is transmitted ; and for this it is well known I have waited with unexampled patience. But when no notice is taken of my application ; when measures, which I might otherwise adopt, are suspended ; when my own feelings are wounded, and others perhaps are suffering by the delay, how is it possible for me to forbear expressing my disquietude ?

“The particular cause of it at this time arises from two things. First, while I am totally silent to the public, waiting the decision of Congress on the case of Huddy, I see publications on this head (importing reflections) in one of the Pennsylvania papers, which no man could have made, that had not access to my official letter of the 19th of August to Congress ; and, secondly, because I feel exceedingly for Captain Asgill, who was designated by lot in retaliation for the death of Captain Huddy. While retaliation was apparently necessary, however disagreeable in itself, I had no repugnance to the measure. But, when the end proposed by it is answered, by a disavowal of the act, by a dissolution of the board of refugees, and by a promise, (whether with or without meaning to comply with it, I shall not determine,) that further inquisition should be made into the matter, I thought it incumbent upon me, before I proceeded any further in the matter, to have the sense of Congress, who had most explicitly approved, and impliedly indeed ordered retaliation to take place. To this hour I am held in darkness.

“ The letter of Asgill, a copy of which I enclose, and the situation of his father, which I am made acquainted with by the British prints, work too powerfully upon my humanity not to wish, that Congress would chalk a line for me to walk by in this business. To effect this, is the cause of the trouble you now receive from, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.”

“ *To the President of Congress.*

“ Head-Quarters, 25 October, 1782.

“ SIR,—I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the copy of two letters from Count de Vergennes, which were sent out in the packet from England, and have just come to my hands by a flag of truce from New York. They contain a very pathetic and affectionate interposition in favor of the life of Captain Asgill. I lose no time to forward them by a special messenger to Congress without any observations, being persuaded that Congress will not hesitate to give a very early decision respecting his further treatment. The enclosed newspapers contain all the information I have been able to obtain since the arrival of the packet.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.”

The letter from Count de Vergennes, in reference to the fate of Captain Asgill, was as follows :

“ Versailles, 29 July, 1782.

“ SIR,—It is not in quality of a king, the friend and ally of the United States, (though with the knowledge and consent of his Majesty,) that I now have the honor to write to your Excellency. It is as a man of sensibility and a tender father, who feels all the force of paternal love, that I take the liberty to address to your Excellency my earnest solicitations in favor of a mother and family in tears. Her situation seems the more worthy of notice on our part, as it is to the humanity of a nation at war with her own, that she has recourse, for what she ought to receive from the impartial justice of her own generals.

“ I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency a copy of a letter, which Lady Asgill has just written me.

I am not known to her, nor was I acquainted that her son was the unhappy victim, destined by lot to expiate the odious crime that a formal denial of justice obliges you to avenge. Your Excellency will not read this letter without being extremely affected ; it had that effect upon the King and Queen, to whom I communicated it. The goodness of their Majesties' hearts induces them to desire, that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother may be calmed, and her tenderness reassured. I felt, sir, that there are cases where humanity itself exacts the most extreme rigor ; perhaps the one now in question may be of the number ; but, allowing reprisals to be just, it is not less horrid to those who are the victims ; and the character of your Excellency is too well known, for me not to be persuaded that you desire nothing more than to be able to avoid the disagreeable necessity.

“ There is one consideration, sir, which, though it is not decisive, may have an influence on your resolution. Captain Asgill is doubtless your prisoner, but he is among those whom the arms of the King contributed to put into your hands at Yorktown. Although this circumstance does not operate as a safeguard, it however justifies the interest I permit myself to take in this affair. If it is in your power, sir, to consider and have regard to it, you will do what is agreeable to their Majesties ; the danger of young Asgill, the tears, the despair of his mother, affect them sensibly ; and they will see with pleasure the hope of consolation shine out for those unfortunate people.

“ In seeking to deliver Mr. Asgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to secure another victim ; the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire. I do not imagine it can be productive of any bad consequences. If the English General has not been able to punish the horrible crime you complain of, in so exemplary a manner as he should, there is reason to think he will take the most efficacious measures to prevent the like in future.

“ I sincerely wish, sir, that my intercession may meet success ; the sentiment which dictates it, and which you have not ceased to manifest on every occasion, assures

me, that you will not be indifferent to the prayers and to the tears of a family, which has recourse to your clemency through me. It is rendering homage to your virtue to implore it. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect consideration, sir, yours, &c. DE VERGENNES.\*

\* The letter of Lady Asgill, enclosed in the preceding, was as follows :

*“ Lady Asgill to Count de Vergennes.*

*“ London, July 18, 1782.*

“ SIR,—If the politeness of the French Court will permit an application of a stranger, there can be no doubt, but one, in which all the tender feelings of an individual can be interested, will meet with a favorable reception from a nobleman, whose character does honor, not only to his own country, but to human nature. The subject, sir, on which I presume to implore your assistance, is too heart-piercing for me to dwell on ; and common fame has, most probably, informed you of it ; it, therefore, renders the painful task unnecessary.

“ My son, (an only son,) as dear as he is brave, amiable as he is deserving to be so, only nineteen, a prisoner under the articles of capitulation of Yorktown, is now confined in America, an object of retaliation. Shall an innocent suffer for the guilty ? Represent to yourself, sir, the situation of a family, under these circumstances ; surrounded, as I am, by objects of distress, distracted with fear and grief, no words can express my feeling, or paint the scene. My husband, given over by his physicians, a few hours before the news arrived, and not in a state to be informed of the misfortune ; my daughter, seized with a fever and delirium, raving about her brother, and without one interval of reason, save to hear heart-rending circumstances.

“ Let your feelings, sir, suggest and plead for my inexpressible misery. A word from you, like a voice from Heaven, will save us from distraction and wretchedness. I am well informed General Washington reveres your character ; say but to him, you wish my son to be released, and he will restore him to his distracted family, and render him to happiness. My son’s virtue and bravery will justify the deed. His honor, sir, carried him to America. He was born to affluence, independence, and the happiest prospects. Let me again supplicate your goodness ; let me respectfully implore your high influence in behalf of innocence ; in the cause of justice, of humanity ; that you would, sir, despatch a letter to General Washington, from France, and favor me with a copy of it, to be sent from hence.

“ I am sensible of the liberty I have taken, in making this request ; but I am sensible, whether you comply with it or not, you will pity the distress that suggests it ; your humanity will drop a tear on the fault, and efface it. I will pray that Heaven may grant you may never want the comfort it is in your power to bestow on

*“ ASGILL.”*

Under all the circumstances connected with this case, Washington was satisfied that Captain Asgill ought to be liberated ; and, several weeks before receiving the letter from the Count de Vergennes, had communicated his decided conviction, to that effect, to the Secretary of War.

Congress at last decided the question which Washington had referred to them, and resolved " that the Commander-in-chief be, and he is hereby, directed to set Captain Asgill at liberty."

*" To Captain Charles Asgill.*

*" Head-Quarters, 13 November, 1782.*

" SIR,—It affords me singular pleasure, to have it in my power to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an act of Congress, of the 7th instant, by which you are released from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have so long been. Supposing that you would wish to go into New York as soon as possible, I also enclose a passport for that purpose.

" Your letter of the 18th of October came regularly to my hands. I beg you to believe, that my not answering it sooner, did not proceed from inattention to you, or a want of feeling for your situation. I daily expected a determination of your case, and I thought it better to await that, than to feed you with hopes, that might in the end prove fruitless. You will attribute my detention of the enclosed letters, which have been in my hands about a fortnight, to the same cause.

" I cannot take leave of you, sir, without assuring you, that, in whatever light my agency in this displeasing affair may be viewed, I was never influenced, through the whole of it, by sanguinary motives, but by what I conceived to be a sense of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities, which have been the subject of discussion. And that this important end is likely to be answered, without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a greater relief to you, than 't is to, sir, your most obedient and humble servant."



*“ To Sir Guy Carleton.**“ Head-Quarters, 20 November, 1782.*

“SIR,—Your Excellency will have been informed, before this reaches you, of the liberation of Captain Asgill. I am, notwithstanding, directed to recall your attention to that part of your letter of the 3d of August last, in which you say, ‘I have given orders to the judge-advocate to make further inquisition, and to collect evidence for the prosecution of such other persons as may appear to have been criminal in this transaction.’ In full confidence, that measures have been taken to carry your Excellency’s intentions into execution, I have to request the favor of you to inform me what probability there is, that the persons, who have been really guilty of the action, which has been the subject of former discussion, will be brought to a proper account.

“I have the honor to be, &c.”

*“ To Count de Vergennes.**“ Head-Quarters, Newburg, 21 November, 1782.*

“SIR,—After I had the honor of receiving your Excellency’s letter of the 29th of July, I lost not a moment in transmitting it to Congress, who had then under deliberation the proceedings of the British court-martial upon Captain Lippencot for the murder of Captain Huddy, and the other documents relating to that inhumane transaction. What would otherwise have been the determination of that honorable body, I will not undertake to say ; but I think I may venture to assure your Excellency, that your generous interposition had no small degree of weight in procuring that decision in favor of Captain Asgill, which he had no right to expect from the very unsatisfactory measures, which had been taken by the British Commander-in-chief to atone for a crime of the blackest dye, not to be justified by the practices of war, and unknown at this day amongst civilized nations. I however flatter myself, that our enemies have been brought to view this transaction in its true light, and that we shall not experience a repetition of the like enormity.

“Captain Asgill has been released, and is at perfect liberty to return to the arms of an affectionate parent, whose pathetic address to your Excellency could not fail of interesting every feeling heart in her behalf. I have no right to assume any particular merit from the lenient manner in which this disagreeable affair has terminated. But I beg you to believe, sir, that I most sincerely rejoice, not only because your humane intentions are gratified, but because the event accords with the wishes of his Most Christian Majesty, and his royal and amiable consort, who by their benevolence and munificence, have endeared themselves to every true American.

“I have the honor to be, &c.”

It will be perceived by the dates of the foregoing letters that this most distressing transaction lingered through the entire season, and although it related, in one sense, to the fate of an individual, yet in its effect it exerted an important public influence. The proceedings, in reference to Captain Asgill, painful as they were to him, to his friends, and to every feeling heart, were rendered necessary by the soundest policy, and even by benevolence itself. They prevented all further outrages upon American prisoners, and served to impress the British commanders, and nation at large, with a just view of Washington's resolution and decision of character, and also of the tenderness and benignity of his sensibility and affections.

During this year, discontents became quite prevalent throughout the army. They were suffering from arrearages of pay, and in various ways had long been exposed to disappointment and irritation, from the vacillating and fluctuating course of policy of the various colonial governments upon whom they depended, and also from the impotency of Congress, under the system of the Confederation. These discontents naturally produced dissatisfaction with the civil authorities, as then constituted. In meditating upon their wrongs, some of the officers and soldiers were led to the conclusion that justice could only be done to them, or the affairs of the public managed with efficiency and success, by introducing a strong govern

ment. The idea of a monarchy became a favorite one with persons who entertained these views. They believed that it would be vain to attempt to preserve the prosperity or establish the power of a nation without a king, and, as a matter of course, they fixed upon Washington as the man on whom alone the honor and the burden of royalty could be placed. To sound his feelings on the subject, and to prepare him to fall in with their plan, a letter was addressed to him by a distinguished officer. The following answer shows the spirit of indignant horror with which he rejected the dazzling proffer.

*“ To Colonel Lewis Nicola.*

*“ Newburg, 22 May, 1782.*

“SIR,—With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations, than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary.

“I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs, that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add, that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do ; and, as far as my powers and influence, in a constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment

of the like nature. I am, sir, your most obedient servant."

Nothing of general importance occurred in the movements of the army during the year 1782. The contest on the field seemed to be suspended ; whether permanently, or only for a season, depended upon the determination of the government of Great Britain. Washington endeavored to bring and keep his army, and America in general, in a state of preparation for renewed hostilities, if such should be the decision of the British cabinet. In labors and efforts to this end the year passed away, so far as he was concerned.

The following letter contains advice which is worthy of the consideration of every young man, and the source from which it proceeds cannot fail to make it interesting and impressive.

*" To Bushrod Washington.*

*" Newburg, 15 January, 1783.*

"DEAR BUSHROD,—You will be surprised, perhaps, at receiving a letter from me ; but if the end is answered for which it is written, I shall not think my time mispent. Your father, who seems to entertain a very favorable opinion of your prudence, and I hope you merit it, in one or two of his letters to me speaks of the difficulty he is under to make you remittances. Whether this arises from the scantiness of his funds, or the extensiveness of your demands, is matter of conjecture with me. I hope it is not the latter ; because common prudence, and every other consideration, which ought to have weight in a reflecting mind, are opposed to your requiring more than his convenience and a regard to his other children will enable him to pay ; and because he holds up no idea in the letter, which would support me in the conclusion. Yet when I take a view of the inexperience of youth, the temptations and vices of cities, and the distresses to which our Virginia gentlemen are driven by an accumulation of taxes and the want of a market, I am almost inclined to ascribe it in part to both. Therefore, as a friend, I give you the following advice.

“Let the object, which carried you to Philadelphia, be always before your eyes. Remember, that it is not the mere study of the law, but to become eminent in the profession of it, that is to yield honor and profit. The first was your choice ; let the second be your ambition. Dissipation is incompatible with both ; the company, in which you will improve most, will be least expensive to you ; and yet I am not such a stoic as to suppose that you will, or to think it right that you should, always be in company with senators and philosophers ; but of the juvenile kind let me advise you to be choice. It is easy to make acquaintances, but very difficult to shake them off, however irksome and unprofitable they are found, after we have once committed ourselves to them. The indiscretions, which very often they involuntarily lead one into, prove equally distressing and disgraceful.

“Be courteous to all, but intimate with few ; and let those few be well tried before you give them your confidence. True friendship is a plant of slow growth, and must undergo and withstand the shocks of adversity before it is entitled to the appellation.

“Let your heart feel for the afflictions and distresses of every one, and let your hand give in proportion to your purse ; remembering always the estimation of the widow’s mite, but, that it is not every one who asketh, that deserveth charity ; all, however, are worthy of the inquiry, or the deserving may suffer.

“Do not conceive that fine clothes make fine men, any more than fine feathers make fine birds. A plain, genteel dress is more admired, and obtains more credit, than lace and embroidery, in the eyes of the judicious and sensible.

“The last thing which I shall mention, is first in importance ; and that is, to avoid gaming. This is a vice, which is productive of every possible evil ; equally injurious to the morals and health of its votaries. It is the child of avarice, the brother of iniquity, and the father of mischief. It has been the ruin of many worthy families, the loss of many a man’s honor, and the cause of suicide. To all those who enter the lists, it is equally fascinating.

The successful gamester pushes his good fortune, till it is overtaken by a reverse. The losing gamester, in hopes of retrieving past misfortunes, goes on from bad to worse, till, grown desperate, he pushes at every thing and loses his all. In a word, few gain by this abominable practice, while thousands are injured.

“Perhaps you will say, ‘My conduct has anticipated the advice,’ and ‘Not one of the cases applies to me.’ I shall be heartily glad of it. It will add not a little to my happiness, to find those to whom I am so nearly connected pursuing the right walk of life. It will be the sure road to my favor, and to those honors and places of profit, which their country can bestow ; as merit rarely goes unrewarded. I am, dear Bushrod, your affectionate uncle.”

In the spring of 1783, as the prospect of peace became clear and certain, the discontents in the army at the failure of Congress and the States to secure their pay became quite violent and extensive. It was suspected by some, and insinuated by others, who merely employed the idea as an instrument to awaken the passions of the soldiery, and prepare them to aid their own sinister designs, that the government had no intention of ever paying the arrears due to the army, but, upon the occurrence of peace, an event hourly expected, having no further use for troops, would disband them, disperse them to their various and distant homes, and thereby deprive them of the power of demanding redress, or compelling justice. A committee had been appointed on the part of the army to remonstrate with Congress, and urge their claims. Washington was using all his influence, and taking unwearied pains to the same end. But certain factious, designing, and ambitious spirits among the officers at last resolved not to wait any longer the proceedings of the committee, or the Commander-in-chief, but to take the business into their own hands. They circulated, on the 10th of March, the following anonymous notification, which was accompanied by an ingenious and artful appeal to the officers of the army, also anonymous, commonly known as the first of the

Newburg Addresses, in which the grounds of their discontent were stated with ability, and in such a manner as to exasperate their feelings, and prepare them for measures of resistance and intimidation against the Congress and civil authorities of the country.

**“ ANONYMOUS NOTIFICATION.**

“ A meeting of the general and field officers is requested at the Public Building on Tuesday next at eleven o'clock. A commissioned officer from each company is expected, and a delegate from the medical staff. The object of this convention is, to consider the late letter from our representatives in Philadelphia, and what measures (if any) should be adopted, to obtain that redress of grievances which they seem to have solicited in vain.”

This proceeding was regarded by Washington as an act of rebellion, not only against Congress, but against his authority. On the next day he issued the following general orders.

“ The Commander-in-chief, having heard that a general meeting of the officers of the army was proposed to be held this day at the New Building, in an anonymous paper, which was circulated yesterday by some unknown person, conceives, (although he is fully persuaded that the good sense of the officers would induce them to pay very little attention to such an irregular invitation,) his duty, as well as the reputation and true interest of the army, requires his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings ; at the same time he requests, that the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation of the staff of the army, will assemble at twelve o'clock on Saturday next at the New Building, to hear the report of the committee of the army to Congress.

“ After mature deliberation they will devise what further measures ought to be adopted, as most rational, and best calculated to attain the just and important object in view.

“ The senior officer in rank present will be pleased to

preside, and report the result of their deliberations to the Commander-in-chief."

On the 12th he despatched the following letters to Congress.

*" To the President of Congress.*

*" Head-Quarters, 12 March, 1783.*

" SIR,—It is with inexpressible concern I make the following report to your Excellency. Two days ago, anonymous notifications were circulated in the army, requesting a general meeting of the officers the next day. A copy of one of these papers is enclosed. About the same time, another anonymous writing, purporting to be an address to the officers of the army, was handed about in a clandestine manner. It is also enclosed. To prevent any precipitate and dangerous resolutions from being taken at this perilous moment, while the passions were all inflamed, as soon as these things had come to my knowledge the next morning, I issued the enclosed order. In this situation the affair now rests.

" As all opinion must be suspended until after the meeting on Saturday next, I have nothing further to add, except a wish that the measure I have taken to dissipate a storm, which had gathered so suddenly and unexpectedly, may be acceptable to Congress; and to assure them that, in every vicissitude of circumstances, still actuated with the greatest zeal in their service, I shall continue my utmost exertions to promote the welfare of my country, under the most lively expectation, that Congress have the best intention of doing ample justice to the army as soon as circumstances will possibly admit.

" I have the honor to be, &c.

" P. S. Since writing the foregoing, another anonymous paper is put in circulation, and is enclosed."

*" To Joseph Jones, in Congress.*

*" Newburg, 12 March, 1783.*

" DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 26th ultimo, and thank you for your information and the free-



dom of your communications. My official letter to Congress of this date will inform you of what has happened in this quarter ; in addition to which, it may be necessary that it should be known to you, and to such others as you may think proper, that the army, though very irritable on account of their long-protracted sufferings, have been apparently extremely quiet while their business was depending before Congress, until four days past. In the mean time, it should seem, reports have been propagated in Philadelphia, that dangerous combinations were forming in the army ; and this at a time, when there was not a syllable of the kind in agitation in camp.

“ It also appears, that, upon the arrival of a certain gentleman from Philadelphia in camp, whose name at present I do not incline to mention, such sentiments as these were immediately and industriously circulated ; that it was universally expected the army would not disband until they had obtained justice ; that the public creditors looked up to them for redress of their grievances, would afford them every aid, and even join them in the field if necessary ; that some members of Congress wished the measure might take effect, in order to compel the public, particularly the delinquent States, to do justice ; with many other suggestions of a similar nature. From whence, and a variety of other considerations, it is generally believed, that the scheme was not only planned but also digested and matured in Philadelphia, and that some people have been playing a double game, spreading at the camp and in Philadelphia reports, and raising jealousies, equally void of foundation, until called into being by their vile artifices ; for, as soon as the minds of the army were thought to be prepared for the transaction, anonymous invitations were circulated, requesting a general meeting of the officers the next day. At the same instant, many copies of the address to the officers of the army were scattered in every State line of it.

“ So soon as I obtained a knowledge of these things, I issued the order of the 11th, transmitted to Congress, in order to rescue the foot, that stood wavering on the precipice of despair, from taking those steps, which would

have led to the abyss of misery, while the passions were inflamed and the mind tremblingly alive with the recollection of past sufferings, and with present feelings. I did this upon the principle, that it is easier to divert from a wrong to a right path, than to recall the hasty and fatal steps, that have been already taken.

“It is commonly supposed, that, if the officers had met agreeably to the anonymous summons, resolutions might have been formed, the consequences of which may be more easily conceived than expressed. Now they will have leisure to view the matter more calmly and seriously.

“It is to be hoped, that they will be induced to adopt more rational measures, and wait a while longer for the settlement of their accounts, the postponing of which gives more uneasiness in the army than any other thing. There is not a man in it, who will not acknowledge that Congress have not the means of payment ; but why not, say they one and all, liquidate the accounts and certify our dues ? Are we to be disbanded and sent home without this ? Are we afterwards to make individual applications for such settlements at Philadelphia, or any auditing office in our respective States ; to be shifted perhaps from one board to another, dancing attendance at all, and finally postponed till we lose the substance in pursuit of the shadow ? While they are agitated by these considerations, there are not wanting insidious characters, who tell them it is neither the wish nor the intention of the public to settle their accounts ; but to delay this business under one pretext or another, until peace, which we are on the eve of, and a separation of the army takes place ; when, it is well known, a general settlement never can be effected, and that individual loss in this instance becomes public gain.

“However derogatory these ideas are to the dignity, honor, and justice of the government, yet when a matter so interesting to the army, and at the same time so easy to be effected by the public, as that of liquidating the accounts, is delayed without any apparent or obvious necessity, they will have their place in a mind that is soured and irritated. Let me entreat you, therefore, my

good sir, to push this matter to an issue ; and, if there are delegates among you, who are really opposed to doing justice to the army, scruple not to tell them, if matters should come to extremity, that they must be answerable for all the ineffable horrors, which may be occasioned thereby.

“ I am most sincerely and affectionately yours.”

On the 15th the council of officers, summoned by the general orders of the Commander-in-chief, convened. General Gates presided. General Washington appeared, and read a most solemn, eloquent, and convincing address on the critical state of things then existing in the army, and on the duty of every patriotic officer and soldier, to frown upon the disorderly and insurrectionary movements which had been attempted. After reading his address, Washington retired, and left the officers to their deliberations. A series of resolutions were forthwith presented and passed, of which the following are parts :

“ Resolved, That the unanimous thanks of the officers of the army be presented to his Excellency, the Commander-in-chief, for his excellent address, and the communications he has been pleased to make to them ; and to assure him, that the officers reciprocate his affectionate expressions, with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable.

“ Resolved unanimously, That at the commencement of the present war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature ; which motives still exist in the highest degree ; and that no circumstance of distress or danger shall induce a conduct, that may tend to sully the reputation and glory, which they have acquired at the price of their blood and eight years' faithful services.

“ Resolved unanimously, That the officers of the American army view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown persons to

collect the officers together in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order."

The resolutions of the officers were transmitted by Washington to Congress, with the following appeal to the justice and patriotism of that body. The whole transaction was a beautiful illustration of the firmness and wisdom of the Commander-in-chief. While he sympathized with his neglected and injured brother officers, he frowned upon every symptom of insubordination on their part; and in the same document in which he communicated the result of the measures which he had taken, with such energy and severity, to crush their attempts to bring the military power to bear against the civil authorities, he pleads their cause before the great council of the nation with a truly noble fearlessness and earnestness.

*" To the President of Congress.*

"Head-Quarters, Newburg, 18 March, 1783.

"SIR,—The result of the proceedings of the grand convention of officers, which I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency for the inspection of Congress, will, I flatter myself, be considered as the last glorious proof of patriotism, which could have been given by men, who aspired to the distinction of a patriot army, and will not only confirm their claim to the justice, but will increase their title to the gratitude, of their country.

"Having seen the proceedings on the part of the army terminate with perfect unanimity, and in a manner entirely consonant to my wishes; being impressed with the liveliest sentiments of affection for those, who have so long, so patiently, and so cheerfully suffered and fought under my immediate direction; having from motives of justice, duty, and gratitude, spontaneously offered myself as an advocate for their rights; and having been requested to write to your Excellency, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of Congress upon the subjects of the late address from the army to that honorable body; it now only remains for me to perform the task I have assumed, and to intercede in their behalf, as I now do, that the sovereign power will be pleased to verify the predictions I

have pronounced, and the confidence the army have reposed in the justice of their country.

“ And here I humbly conceive it is altogether unnecessary, while I am pleading the cause of an army, which has done and suffered more than any other army ever did in the defence of the rights and liberties of human nature, to expatiate on their claims to the most ample compensation for their meritorious services ; because they are perfectly known to the whole world, and because, although the topics are inexhaustible, enough has already been said on the subject.

“ To prove these assertions, to evince that my sentiments have ever been uniform, and to show what my ideas of the rewards in question have always been, I appeal to the archives of Congress, and call on those sacred deposits to witness for me ; and, in order that my observations and arguments in favor of a future adequate provision for the officers of the army may be brought to remembrance again, and considered in a single point of view, without giving Congress the trouble of having recourse to their files, I will beg leave to transmit herewith an extract from a representation made by me to a committee of Congress, so long ago as the 29th of January, 1778, and also the transcript of a letter to the President of Congress, dated near Passaic Falls, October 11th, 1780. That, in the critical and perilous moment when the last-mentioned communication was made, there was the utmost danger that a dissolution of the army would take place, unless measures similar to these recommended had been adopted, will not admit a doubt. That the adoption of the resolution, granting half-pay for life, has been attended with all the happy consequences I had foretold, so far as respected the good of the service, let the astonishing contrast between the state of the army at this instant, and at the former period, determine ; and that the establishment of funds and securities, for the payment of all the just demands of the army, will be the most certain means of preserving the national faith, and the future tranquillity of this extensive continent, is my decided opinion.

“ By the preceding remarks it will readily be imagined, that, instead of retracting and reprehending, from further experience and reflection, the mode of compensation so strenuously urged in the enclosures, I am more and more confirmed in the sentiment ; and, if in the wrong, suffer me to please myself with the grateful delusion. For if, besides the simple payment of their wages, a further compensation is not due to the sufferings and sacrifices of the officers, then have I been mistaken indeed. If the whole army have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then have I been beguiled by prejudice, and built opinion on the basis of error. If this country should not in the event perform every thing, which has been requested in the late memorial to Congress, then will my belief become vain, and the hope, that has been excited, void of foundation. And if, as has been suggested, for the purpose of inflaming their passions, ‘ the officers of the army are to be the only sufferers by this revolution ; if, retiring from the field, they are to grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt ; if they are to wade through the vile mire of dependancy, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor ;’ then shall I have learned what ingratitude is ; then shall I have realized a tale, which will imbitter every moment of my future life. But I am under no such apprehensions. A country, rescued by their arms from impending ruin, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.

“ Should any intemperate or improper warmth have mingled itself in the foregoing observations, I must entreat your Excellency and Congress, that it may be attributed to the effusion of an honest zeal in the best of causes, and that my peculiar situation may be my apology ; and I hope I need not, on this momentous occasion, make any new protestations of personal disinterestedness, having ever renounced for myself the idea of pecuniary reward. The consciousness of having attempted faithfully to discharge my duty, and the approbation of my country, will be a sufficient recompense for my services.

“ I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, &c.”

II.

H

This suppression of the mutinous proceedings of the authors and instigators of the Newburg Addresses and notifications was the last painful public duty performed by the Commander of the American Revolutionary army. The following letters show the sensations of joy and gratitude with which his breast was filled on receiving intelligence of peace.

“ *To the Chevalier de la Luzerne.*

“ Head-Quarters, 29 March, 1783.

“ SIR,—The news of a general peace, which your Excellency has been so good as to announce to me, has filled my mind with inexpressible satisfaction ; and permit me to add, that the joy I feel on this great event is doubly enhanced by the very obliging manner in which you have been pleased to express your congratulations to me and to the army on this happy occasion.

“ The part your Excellency has acted in the cause of America, and the great and benevolent share you have taken in the establishment of her independence, are deeply impressed in my mind, and will not be effaced from my remembrance, or that of the citizens of America. You will accept, sir, my warmest acknowledgements and congratulations, with assurances that I shall always participate, with the highest pleasure, in every event, which contributes to your happiness and satisfaction.

“ The articles of the general treaty do not appear so favorable to France, in point of territorial acquisitions, as they do to the other powers. \ But the magnanimous and disinterested scale of action, which that great nation has exhibited to the world during this war, and at the conclusion of peace, will insure to the King and nation that reputation, which will be of more consequence to them than every other consideration.

“ Mrs. Washington begs your Excellency to accept her sincerest thanks for the joy you have communicated to her, and to receive a return of her congratulations on this most happy of all events.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.”

*“ To the President of Congress.*

*“ Head-Quarters, 30 March, 1783.*

**SIR,**—Your Excellency will permit me, with the most lively sensations of gratitude and pleasure, to return you my warmest thanks for the communication, which you have been pleased to make to me and to the army, of the glorious news of a general peace ; an event, which cannot fail to diffuse a general joy throughout the United States, but to none of their citizens more than to the officers and soldiers, who now compose the army. It is impossible for me to express the joy, with which I beg your Excellency to accept a return of my sincerest congratulations on this happiest of events. The commutation of the half-pay, and the measures adopted for the liquidation of their accounts, will give great satisfaction to the army ; and will prove an additional tie to strengthen their confidence in the justice and benevolent intentions of Congress towards them. I have the honor to be, &c.”

*“ To Sir Guy Carleton.*

*“ Head-Quarters, 9 April, 1783.*

**SIR,**—I feel great satisfaction from your Excellency's despatches by Captain Stapleton, conveying to me the joyful annunciation of your having received official accounts of the conclusion of a general peace, and a cessation of hostilities. Without official authority from Congress, but perfectly relying on your communication, I can at this time only issue my orders to the American out-posts, to suspend all acts of hostilities until further orders. This shall be instantly done ; and I shall be happy in the momentary expectation of having it in my power to publish to the American army a general cessation of all hostilities between Great Britain and America.

**“ To your observations respecting particular articles of the peace I am obliged to reply, that it rests with Congress to direct measures for the observance of all the articles contained in the provisional treaty. You may be assured, that, as soon as I receive my instructions from the sovereign power of the United States, I shall rejoice in giving every facility in my power to carry into com-**



plete execution that article of the treaty, which respects the restitution of all prisoners of war, being perfectly disposed to contribute to diffusing, as much as possible, the happy effects of this great event.

“I thank your Excellency for the assurances you are pleased to express, of your readiness to cultivate that spirit of perfect good-will and conciliation, which you wish would take place between the King of Great Britain and the United States, and the citizens and subjects of both countries ; and I beg, sir, that you will please to accept a tender from me of reciprocal good-will and attention, accompanied with sincere congratulations on this joyful restoration of peace and general tranquillity, with an earnest wish, that, resting on the firm basis of mutual interest and good-will, it may prove as lasting as it is happy.

“I have the honor to be, &c.”

The cessation of hostilities was announced officially to the army by the following notice, issued in the general orders :

“Head-Quarters, 18 April, 1783.

“The Commander-in-chief orders the cessation of hostilities, between the United States of America and the King of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve at the New Building ; and that the proclamation, which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army ; after which the chaplains with the several brigades will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his overruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.

“Although the proclamation before alluded to extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace, yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest, stops the effusion of human blood, opens the prospect to a more splendid scene, and, like another morning star, promises the approach of a brighter day than has hitherto

illuminated the western hemisphere. On such a happy day, which is the harbinger of peace, a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice ; it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

“ The Commander-in-chief, far from endeavoring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion to all the officers of every denomination, to all the troops of the United States in general, and in particular to those gallant and persevering men, who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country so long as the war should continue. For these are the men, who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army ; and who, crowned with well-earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil walks of civil life.

“ While the General recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have passed, with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude ; while he contemplates the prospect before us with rapture, he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, (of whatever condition they may be,) who have shared in the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution, of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act (under the smiles of Providence) on the stage of human affairs. For happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office, in erecting this stupendous *fabric of freedom and empire* on the broad basis of independency ; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.

“ The glorious task for which we first flew to arms being thus accomplished ; the liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured by the smiles of Heaven on the purity of our cause, and the honest

exertions of a feeble people determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them ; and the character of those, who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *patriot army*, nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect, unvarying consistency of character through the very last act, to close the drama with applause, and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men, which has crowned all their former virtuous actions. For this purpose no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated. Every considerate and well-disposed soldier must remember, it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience until peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores. As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the General is confident there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honor, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The General has already interested himself in their behalf, and he thinks he need not repeat the assurances of his disposition to be useful to them on the present and every other proper occasion. In the mean time, he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished while he retains the command of the army."

It was not without a mixture of painful sensations that Washington prepared to relinquish his connexion with the army. His heart was keenly alive to the sentiments of friendship, and he felt the sorrow of separation from his loved, honored, and long-tried comrades with the keenest emotion. His feelings towards his brother officers in general are seen in the following passages of a letter to General Putnam.

"Head-Quarters, 2 June, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 20th of May I received with much pleasure ; for I can assure you, that, among the many worthy and meritorious officers, with

whom I have had the happiness to be connected in service through the course of this war, and from whose cheerful assistance and advice I have received much support and confidence, in the various and trying vicissitudes of a complicated contest, the name of Putnam is not forgotten ; nor will it be but with that stroke of time, which shall obliterate from my mind the remembrance of all those toils and fatigues, through which we have struggled for the preservation and establishment of the rights, liberties, and independence of our country.

“ Your congratulations on the happy prospects of our peace and independent security, with their attendant blessings to the United States, I receive with great satisfaction ; and beg that you will accept a return of my gratulations to you on this auspicious event ; an event, in which, great as it is in itself, and glorious as it will probably be in its consequences, you have a right to participate largely, from the distinguished part you have contributed towards its attainment.

“ But while I contemplate the greatness of the object for which we have contended, and felicitate you on the happy issue of our toils and labors, which have terminated with such general satisfaction, I lament that you should feel the ungrateful returns of a country, in whose service you have exhausted your bodily health, and expended the vigor of a youthful constitution. I wish, however, that your expectations of returning sentiments of liberality may be verified. I have a hope, that they may ; but, should they not, your case will not be a singular one. Ingratitude has been experienced in all ages, and republics in particular have ever been famed for the exercise of that unnatural and sordid vice.

“ The Secretary at War, who is now here, informs me that you have been considered as entitled to full pay since your absence from the field ; and that you will be still considered in that light till the close of the war, at which period you will be equally entitled to the same emoluments of half-pay or commutation as other officers of your rank. The same opinion is also given by the paymaster-general, who is now with the army, empowered

by Mr. Morris for the settlement of all their accounts, and who will attend to yours whenever you shall think proper to send on for the purpose ; which it will probably be best for you to do in a short time.

“ I anticipate with pleasure the day, and that I trust not far off, when I shall quit the busy scenes of a military employment, and retire to the more tranquil walks of domestic life. In that, or in whatever other situation Providence may dispose my future days, the remembrance of the many friendships and connexions I have had the happiness to contract with the gentlemen of the army will be one of my most grateful reflections. Under this contemplation, and impressed with the sentiments of benevolence and regard, I commend you, my dear sir, my other friends, and with them the interests and happiness of our dear country, to the keeping and protection of Almighty God. I have the honor to be, &c.”

He also wrote a circular letter to the Governors of the several States, entering at some length upon the subject of the political condition and prospects of the country, and expressing those sentiments of patriotic wisdom in reference to the great principles of union, justice, and peace, which afterwards he was called so efficiently to secure and establish by his services in the civil organization and administration of the United States. The commencement and conclusion of this valuable and interesting letter are as follows :

“ Head-Quarters, Newburg, 8 June, 1783.

“ SIR,—The great object, for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and to return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance ; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh, through a long and painful absence, and in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose. But before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last

official communication ; to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor ; to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States ; to take my leave of your Excellency as a public character ; and to give my final blessing to that country, in whose service I have spent the prime of my life, for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights, and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

“ Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subjects of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favorable manner in which it has terminated, we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing. This is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as the source of present enjoyment or the parent of future happiness ; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of light.

“ The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessities and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency. They are, from this period, to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity. Here they are not only surrounded with every thing, which can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment ; but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a fairer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been

avored with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly, than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition; but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined than at any former period. The researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge, acquired by the labors of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for our use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period, the United States came into existence as a nation; and, if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own."

"I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known, before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me. The task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your Excellency as the chief magistrate of your State, at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

"It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature at their next meeting, and that they may be considered as the legacy of one, who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the Divine benediction upon it.

"I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the State over which you preside, in his holy protection; that He would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedi-

ence to government ; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field ; and finally, that He would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

“ I have the honor to be, with much esteem and respect, sir, your Excellency’s most obedient and most humble servant.”

In the latter part of July and the beginning of August he performed a tour of observation up the Hudson, over the battle-ground of Saratoga, to Crown Point and Fort Schuyler, and returned to head-quarters after an absence of nineteen days. On his return he was summoned to meet Congress, who were in session at Princeton. He was received with public honors, being introduced by two of their members, and the following addresses were made on the occasion :

“ SIR,—Congress feel a particular pleasure in seeing your Excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a war, in which you have acted so conspicuous a part.

“ It has been the particular happiness of the United States, that, during a war so long, so dangerous, and so important, Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a general, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens. In other nations, many have performed eminent services, for which they have deserved the thanks of the public. But to you, sir, peculiar praise is due. Your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country. They deserve the grateful acknowledgements of a free and independent nation. Those acknowledgements Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your Excellency.



“Hostilities have now ceased ; but your country still needs your services. She wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements, that will be necessary for her security in the time of peace. For this reason your attendance at Congress has been requested. A committee is appointed to confer with your Excellency, and to receive your assistance in preparing and digesting plans relative to those important objects.”

“MR. PRESIDENT,—I am too sensible of the honorable reception I have now experienced, not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude.

“Notwithstanding Congress seem to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens, and the patience and bravery of our troops, which have produced so happy a termination of the war, as the most conspicuous effect of the Divine interposition, and the surest presage of our future happiness.

“Highly gratified by the favorable sentiments, which Congress are pleased to express of my past conduct, and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow-citizens, I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavors towards the establishment of the national security, in whatever manner the sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country by the British forces ; after either of which events, I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shades of private life.

“Perhaps, sir, no occasion may offer more suitable than the present, to express my humble thanks to God, and my grateful acknowledgements to my country, for the great and uniform support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune, and for the many distinguished honors, which Congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the war.”

Near the end of November, the British forces evacuated New York and took their final leave of the country. General Washington, having before communicated his valedictory to the army, in an affectionate and eloquent address, immediately prepared to proceed to Annapolis, where Congress were about to hold a session, for the purpose of resigning to them his commission. Before he set out, however, one more act of duty remained to be performed. He was then to separate for ever from the patriotic army, and the brave and affectionate officers, with whom he had been associated for such a length of time, and had passed through such scenes of suffering and of glory. The last meeting between him and his companions in arms took place on the 4th of December. It is described thus by Chief Justice Marshall :—" At noon, the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis's tavern, soon after which, their beloved Commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them, and said, ' With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you ; I most devoutly wish, that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.' Having drunk, he added, ' I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. The tear of manly sensibility was in every eye ; and not a word was articulated to interrupt the dignified silence and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light-infantry, and walked to Whitehall, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, bid them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and, after the barge had

left them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled.”\*

As Washington passed on towards Annapolis, he was greeted by public expressions of gratitude and love. He received addresses from the Legislatures of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and from various literary, scientific, religious, and municipal bodies, and was every where received and followed by the praises, thanks, and blessings of his countrymen. On reaching Annapolis he communicated the following letter to Congress.

“ *To the President of Congress.*

“ Annapolis, 20 December, 1783.

“ SIR,—I take the earliest opportunity to inform Congress of my arrival in this city, with the intention of asking leave to resign the commission I have the honor of holding in their service. It is essential for me to know their pleasure, and in what manner it will be most proper to offer my resignation, whether in writing, or at an audience. I shall therefore request to be honored with the necessary information, that, being apprized of the sentiments of Congress, I may regulate my conduct accordingly.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.”

A committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. McHenry, to make arrangements for a final solemn audience, on the occasion of receiving back the commission with which Congress had invested the Commander of their armies. The order fixed upon was as follows :

“ 1. The President and members are to be seated and covered, and the Secretary to be standing by the side of the President.

“ 2. The arrival of the General is to be announced by the messenger to the Secretary, who is thereupon to introduce the General, attended by his aids, into the Hall of Congress.

“ 3. The General, being conducted to a chair by the

\* Marshall's Life of Washington, 2d edition, vol. ii. p. 57.

Secretary, is to be seated, with an aid on each side standing, and the Secretary is to resume his place.

“4. After a proper time for the arrangement of spectators, silence is to be ordered by the Secretary if necessary, and the President is to address the General in the following words :—‘ Sir,—The United States in Congress assembled are prepared to receive your communications.’ Whereupon the General is to arise and address Congress ; after which he is to deliver his commission and a copy of his address to the President.

“5. The General having resumed his place, the President is to deliver the answer of Congress, which the General is to receive standing.

“6. The President having finished, the Secretary is to deliver the General a copy of the answer, and the General is then to take his leave. When the General rises to make his address, and also when he retires, he is to bow to Congress, which they are to return by uncovering without bowing.”

Washington appeared accordingly, and addressed the Congress as follows :

“MR. PRESIDENT,—The great events, on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence ; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations ; and my gratitude for the

interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen, who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible that the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those, who have continued in service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

“I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

The President returned the following answer :

“SIR,—The United States, in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your-fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered, till these United States, aided by

a magnanimous King and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence ; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

“ Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens ; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages.

“ We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

“ We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care, that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward, which this world cannot give.”

The next morning he left Annapolis, and reached Mount Vernon the same day, having been absent from it eight years and a half, with the exception of two short occasional visits while going to and returning from Yorktown.

In tracing the steps of General Washington through the trials and vicissitudes of the Revolutionary War, to the retirement into which he passed, on its successful termination, I feel that every reader, of sensibility and reflection, will be able to appreciate the happiness and the glory, which followed him to the grateful shades, and delightful repose, of Mount Vernon. Language is quite incompetent to express them. They surpassed all that history has described, or poetry delineated. As a conqueror, his achievements were complete ; as a patriot, he had performed all that his country had demanded, and all that

his own heart could wish ; and as an aspirant for an honorable fame, he had won a renown such as has no parallel in the military and political annals of the world. His country was free, his conscience was clear, and a bright immortality of glory was secured to his name. Instead of attempting to describe the felicity of his lot, it is enough for us to rejoice that he was worthy of it ; and in the silent musings of our own minds to imagine him as, in the midst of domestic felicity, and of all that his beloved home afforded, he rested from his labors, and experienced the blessings which Heaven had bestowed upon him and his country.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### *Washington in Retirement, from 1783 to 1787.*

“ *To Governor Clinton.*

“ Mount Vernon, 28 December, 1783.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—After as prosperous a journey as could be expected at this late season of the year, I arrived at my seat the day before Christmas, having previously divested myself of my official character. I am now a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, where I should be happy to see you, if your public business would ever permit, and where, in the mean time, I shall fondly cherish the remembrance of all your former friendship.

“ Although I scarcely need tell you, how much I have been satisfied with every instance of your public conduct, yet I could not suffer Colonel Walker (whose merits are too well known to you to need a recommendation of him from me, if any thing should cast up favorable to his wishes) to depart for New York, without giving your Excellency one more testimony of the obligations I consider myself under for the spirited and able assistance, which I have often derived from the State under your administration.

“ The scene is at last closed. I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues. Permit me still to consider you in the number of my friends, and to wish you every felicity.

“ Mrs. Washington joins me in presenting the compliments of the season, with our best respects, to Mrs. Clinton and the family. I have the honor to be, &c.”

“ *To Jonathan Trumbull, Junior.*

“ Mount Vernon, 5 January, 1784.

“ DEAR TRUMBULL,—Your obliging letter of the 15th of November did not reach me until some days after we had taken possession of the city of New York. The scene, that followed, of festivity, congratulation, addresses, and resignation, must be my apology for not replying to it sooner.

“ I sincerely thank you for the copy of the address of Governor Trumbull to the General Assembly and free-men of your State. The sentiments contained in it are such, as would do honor to a patriot of any age or nation ; at least they are too coincident with my own, not to meet with my warmest approbation. Be so good as to present my most cordial respects to the Governor, and let him know, that it is my wish, that the mutual friendship and esteem, which have been planted and fostered in the tumult of public life, may not wither and die in the serenity of retirement. Tell him, that we should rather amuse our evening hours of life in cultivating the tender plants, and bringing them to perfection, before they are transplanted to a happier clime.”

“ *To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

“ Mount Vernon, 1 February, 1784.

“ At length, my dear Marquis, I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac ; and under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of



which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame, the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all, and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life, with a heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all ; and this, my dear friend, being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers.

“ Except an introductory letter or two, and one countermanning my request respecting plate, I have not written to you since the middle of October by General Dupontail. To inform you, at this late hour, that the city of New York was evacuated by the British forces on the 25th of November ; that the American troops took possession of it the same day, and delivered it over to the civil authority of the State ; that good order, contrary to the expectation and predictions of General Carleton, his officers, and all the loyalists, was immediately established ; and that the harbor of New York was finally cleared of the British flag about the 5th or 6th of December, would be an insult to your intelligence. And that I remained eight days in New York after we took possession of the city ; that I was very much hurried during that time, which was the reason I did not write to you from thence ; that, taking Philadelphia in my way, I was obliged to remain there a week ; that at Annapolis, where Congress were then and are now sitting, I did, on the 23d of December, present them my commission, and make them my last bow, and on the eve of Christmas entered these doors an older man by near nine years than when I left them, is very uninteresting to any but myself. Since that period, we have been fast locked up in frost and snow, and excluded in a manner from all kinds of intercourse, the winter having been, and still continuing to be, extremely severe.

“ I have now to acknowledge and thank you for your favors of the 22d of July and 8th of September, both of which, although the first is of old date, have come to hand since my letter to you of October. The accounts contained therein of the political and commercial state of affairs, as they respect America, are interesting, and I wish I could add, that they are altogether satisfactory. The agency you have had in both, particularly with regard to the free ports in France, is a fresh evidence of your unwearied endeavors to serve this country ; but there is no part of your letters to Congress, my dear Marquis, which bespeaks the excellence of your heart more plainly, than that which contains those noble and generous sentiments on the justice, which is due to the faithful friends and servants of the public. But I must do Congress the justice to declare, that, as a body, I believe there is every disposition in them, not only to acknowledge the merits, but to reward the services of the army. There is a contractedness, I am sorry to add, in some of the States, from whence all our difficulties on this head proceed ; but it is to be hoped, that the good sense and perseverance of the rest will ultimately prevail, as the spirit of *meanness* is beginning to subside.

“ From a letter, which I have just received from the Governor of this State, I expect him here in a few days, when I shall not be unmindful of what you have written about the bust, and will endeavor to have matters respecting it placed on their proper basis. I thank you most sincerely, my dear Marquis, for your kind invitation to your house, if I should come to Paris. At present I see but little prospect of such a voyage. The deranged situation of my private concerns, occasioned by an absence of almost nine years, and an entire disregard of all private business during that period, will not only suspend, but may put it for ever out of my power to gratify this wish. This not being the case with you, come with Madame de Lafayette, and view me in my domestic walks. I have often told you, and repeat it again, that no man could receive you in them with more friendship and affection than I should do ; in which I am sure Mrs. Washington would

cordially join me. We unite in respectful compliments to your lady, and best wishes for your little flock. With every sentiment of esteem, admiration, and love, I am, my dear Marquis, your most affectionate friend."

*" To Major-General Knox.*

*" Mount Vernon, 20 February, 1784.*

" MY DEAR SIR,—I am just beginning to experience that ease and freedom from public cares, which, however desirable, takes some time to realize ; for, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that it was not till lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating, as soon as I waked in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day ; and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a public man, nor had any thing to do with public transactions.

" I feel now, however, as I conceive a wearied traveller must do, who, after treading many a painful step with a heavy burden on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed ; and from his house-top is looking back, and tracing with an eager eye the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay in his way ; and into which none but the all-powerful Guide and Dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling.

" I shall be very happy, and I hope I shall not be disappointed, in seeing you at the proposed meeting in Philadelphia. The friendship I have conceived for you will not be impaired by absence, but it may be no unpleasing circumstance to brighten the chain by a renewal of the covenant. My best wishes attend Mrs. Knox and the little folks, in which Mrs. Washington most heartily joins me. With sentiments of the purest esteem, regard, and affection, I am, &c.

" P. S. I hope General Greene will be in the delegation from Rhode Island, and that we shall see him at the general meeting of the Cincinnati. Will you intimate this to him ?"

*“ To the Marchioness de Lafayette. ”*

“ Mount Vernon, 25 November, 1784.

“ **MADAM**,—If my expressions were equal to my sensibility, I should, in more elegant language than I am master of, declare to you my sense of the obligation I am under for the letter you did me the honor to write to me by the Marquis de Lafayette, and thanks for this flattering instance of your regard. The pleasure I received in once more embracing my friend could only have been increased by your presence, and the opportunity I should thereby have had of paying, in my own house, the homage of my respectful attachment to his better half. I have obtained a promise, which the Marquis has ratified to Mrs. Washington, that he will use his influence to bring you with him to this country, whenever he shall visit it again. When the weight of so powerful an advocate is on our side, will you, my dear Marchioness, deny us the pleasure of your accompanying him to the shores of Columbia? In offering our mite, we can only assure you that endeavors shall not be wanting on our part to make this new world as agreeable to you, as rural scenes and peaceful retirement are competent to.

“ The Marquis returns to you with all the warmth and ardor of a newly-inspired lover. We restore him to you in good health, crowned with wreaths of love and respect from every part of the Union. That his meeting with you, his family, and friends may be propitious, and as happy as your wishes can make it, that you may live long together revered and beloved, and that you may transmit to a numerous progeny the virtues, which you both possess, is the fervent wish of your devoted and most respectful humble servant.

“ **N. B.** In every good wish for you Mrs. Washington sincerely joins me.”

*“ To the Chevalier de la Luzerne. ”*

“ Mount Vernon, 5 December, 1784.

“ **SIR**,—Your early attention to me after your arrival at the court of Versailles, amidst scenes of gayety and

the gratulations of friends, does me great honor, and excites my warmest acknowledgements. That your august sovereign, his amiable consort, and the princes his brothers, should deign to interest themselves in, and wish to be acquainted with, the circumstances of my life, is one of the most flattering incidents of it, and affects my sensibility beyond any expression I can give of my feelings. If any thing could overcome the present difficulties, which impede my desires to pay my respectful homage at your court, it would be the wish, which you say these august personages have been pleased to express to see me there, and the welcome reception I should meet from the nation at large, especially from those characters with whom I have the honor of a personal acquaintance ; but I fear my vows and earnest wishes are the only tribute of respect I shall ever have it in my power to offer them in return."

*" To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

*" Mount Vernon, 8 December, 1784.*

"MY DEAR MARQUIS,—The peregrination of the day in which I parted from you ended at Marlborough. The next day, bad as it was, I got home before dinner.

"In the moment of our separation, upon the road as I travelled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connexion, and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I ever should have of you? And though I wished to say No, my fears answered Yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled to return no more ; that I was now descending the hill I had been fifty-two years climbing, and that, though I was blest with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers. These thoughts darkened the shades, and gave a gloom to the picture, and consequently to my prospect of seeing you again. But I will not repine ; I have had my day.

"Nothing of importance has occurred since I parted with you. I found my family well, and am now immersed

in company ; notwithstanding which, I have in haste produced a few more letters to give you the trouble of, rather inclining to commit them to your care, than to pass them through many and unknown hands.

“ It is unnecessary, I persuade myself, to repeat to you, my dear Marquis, the sincerity of my regards and friendship ; nor have I words which could express my affection for you, were I to attempt it. My fervent prayers are offered for your safe and pleasant passage, happy meeting with Madame de Lafayette and family, and the completion of every wish of your heart ; in all which, Mrs. Washington joins me ; as she does in compliments to Captain Grandechau,\* and the Chevalier,† of whom little Washington‡ often speaks.

“ With every sentiment, which is propitious and endearing, I am, &c.”

“ *To Mr. William Goddard.*

“ Mount Vernon, 11th June, 1785.

“ SIR,—On the 8th instant, I received the favor of your letter of the 30th of May. In answer to it, I can only say, that your own good judgement must direct you, in the publication of the manuscript papers of General Lee. I can have no request to make, concerning the work.

“ I never had a difference with that gentleman, but on public ground ; and my conduct towards him, upon this occasion, was only such as I conceived myself indispensably bound to adopt, in discharge of the public trust reposed in me. If this produced, in him, unfavorable sentiments of me, I yet can never consider the conduct I pursued with respect to him, either wrong or improper ; however I may regret, that it may have been differently viewed by him, and that it excited his censure and animadversions.

\* Commander of the frigate *Nymphé*.

† The Chevalier de Caraman, who accompanied Lafayette on his tour

‡ George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of Mrs. Washington

“ Should there appear, in General Lee’s writings, any thing injurious or unfriendly to me, the impartial and dispassionate world must decide, how far I deserved it, from the general tenor of my conduct. I am gliding down the stream of life, and wish, as is natural, that my remaining days may be undisturbed and tranquil ; and, conscious of my integrity, I would willingly hope that nothing will occur, tending to give me anxiety. But, should any thing present itself in this, or in any other publication, I shall never undertake the painful task of recrimination ; nor do I know, that I shall even enter upon my justification.

“ I consider the communication, you have made, as a mark of great attention, and the whole of your letter as a proof of your esteem.

“ I am, sir, your most obedient

“ and humble servant,

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

“ *To the Trustees of the Alexandria Academy.*

“ 17 December, 1785.

“ GENTLEMEN,—That I may be perspicuous and avoid misconception, the proposition which I wish to lay before you is committed to writing, and is as follows :

“ It has long been my intention to invest, at my death, one thousand pounds current money of this State in the hands of trustees, the interest only of which to be applied in instituting a school in the town of Alexandria, for the purpose of educating orphan children, who have no other resource, or the children of such indigent parents, as are unable to give it ; the objects to be considered and determined by the trustees for the time being, when applied to by the parents or friends of the children, who have pretensions to this provision. It is not in my power at this time to advance the above sum ; but that a measure, that may be productive of good, may not be delayed, I will until my death, or until it shall be more convenient for my estate to advance the principal, pay the interest thereof, to wit, fifty pounds annually.

“ Under this state of the matter, I submit to your consideration the practicability and propriety of blending the two institutions together, so as to make one seminary under the direction of the president, visitors, or such other establishment as to you shall seem best calculated to promote the objects in view, and for preserving order, regularity, and good conduct in the academy. My intention, as I have before intimated, is, that the principal sum shall never be broken in upon ; the interest only to be applied for the purposes above mentioned. It was also my intention to apply the latter to the sole purpose of education, and of that kind of education, which would be the most extensively useful to people of the lower class of citizens, namely, reading, writing, and arithmetic, so as to fit them for mechanical purposes.

“ The fund, if confined to this, would comprehend more subjects ; but, if you shall be of opinion, that the proposition I now offer can be made to comport with the institution of the school which is already established, and approve of an incorporation of them in the manner before mentioned, and thereafter, upon a full consideration of the matter, should conceive that this fund would be more advantageously applied towards clothing and schooling, than solely to the latter, I will acquiesce in it most cheerfully ; and I shall be ready, as soon as the trustees are established upon a permanent footing, by deed or other instrument of writing, to vest the aforesaid sum of one thousand pounds in them and their successors for ever, with powers to direct and manage the same agreeably to these my declared intentions.”

“ *To Jeremiah Wadsworth.*

“ Mount Vernon, 22 October, 1786.

• “ DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 1st instant, and thank you for the communications it contains. It has given me much satisfaction to find, that the letter I had written to my much lamented friend General Greene, respecting his affairs with Captain Gun, had got safe to his hands. Had the case been otherwise, and he



had harbored a suspicion of my inattention or neglect, the knowledge of it would have given me real pain.

“Persuaded as I always have been of General Greene’s integrity and worth, I spurned those reports, which tended to calumniate his conduct in the connexion with Banks ; being perfectly convinced, that, whenever the matter should be investigated, his motives for entering into it would appear pure and unimpeachable. I was not without my fears, though, that he might suffer in a pecuniary way by his engagements with that man. I would fain hope, however, that the case ultimately may be otherwise ; and that, upon a final settlement of his affairs, there will be a handsome competency for Mrs. Greene and the children. But should it turn out differently, and Mrs. Greene, yourself, and Mr. Rutledge should think proper to intrust my namesake G. W. Greene to my care, I will give him as good an education as this country (I mean North America) will afford ; and will bring him up to either of the genteel professions that his friends may choose, or his own inclination shall lead him to pursue, at my own cost and charge.

“I condole very sincerely with Mrs. Greene, (to whom please to offer my respects,) and the rest of General Greene’s friends, on the loss the public, as well as his family, has sustained by the death of this valuable character ; especially at this crisis, when the political machine seems to portend the most awful events. My compliments, if you please, to Mrs. Wadsworth, and to any of my old acquaintances, who may happen to be within your circle. With much esteem and regard,

“I am, dear sir, &c.”

The foregoing letters serve to give some idea of the manner in which Washington’s time passed away, and the nature of the occupations and interests that engaged his mind during the short period of his retirement, from the close of the war until the necessities of his country again summoned him to her service in completing the great work of Liberty, which, it was soon discovered, was but half accomplished by the severance of the colonies from the

mother country. In a strict and philosophical sense, the Revolution was a war for **POPULAR POWER**, rather than for **POPULAR LIBERTY**. The question it decided was, who shall exercise political power over the American colonies—the colonies themselves, or the government of Great Britain? The issue of the struggle was, that the colonies should govern themselves; it determined the point, that Great Britain should govern them no longer; it made them, as States, free from foreign dominion. The result of the Revolution left the independent States free to govern themselves in any manner they might choose; whether they should have liberal or arbitrary governments, whether, in a word, popular and personal liberty should be maintained among them, upon the only principles on which it can rest, those of justice and equal rights, was a point that remained to be secured. The battle had been fought and the victory won in the field. So far as foreign dominion was concerned, the colonies had become free; it depended upon their wisdom and virtue whether the forms of government instituted among them, by their own voluntary and unaided choice and act, should be such, as to secure to the people the blessings of a well-regulated freedom, and the enjoyment of a rational and equitable degree of private and personal liberty. To the attainment of this end, the enlightened and reflecting citizens of the several States, from the moment when independence of the mother country was determined upon, had directed their reflections and exertions; and the result was, the establishment, in the States, of constitutional, republican, and limited governments, under various diversities of form, but all tending to the preservation and security of the great interests of popular liberty and order.

The work of establishing governments in the several colonies, independent of the mother country, was indeed formally recommended by Congress before the Declaration of Independence was passed. John Adams introduced a resolution to that effect on the 6th of May, 1776, which was adopted on the 15th of that month. This was, in some points of view, the most decisive step that could be taken in severing the ties that bound the colonies to

Great Britain. It was followed up by the Declaration of Independence ; and the statesmen and sages of the country immediately proceeded to devise and construct, and carry into operation, in the several colonies, forms of government and political institutions adapted to that new condition of independence which Washington, at the head of their united armies, was extorting for them, on many a field of blood, from the reluctant grasp of the incensed mother country.

No one can understand the character of the American Revolution, as a great political and national movement, who does not contemplate it in this double aspect, as both a military and a civil operation.

But victory on the field, and the establishment of independent State governments, were soon found insufficient of themselves to secure the prosperity and happiness of the country. During the war, and more and more clearly every day after its close, it became evident that something more was needed to be done, or all that had been done would prove vain and delusive in its influence, and most transitory and short-lived in its existence.

The several States into which the country was divided needed, for certain absolutely necessary purposes, to be united into one nation, under a comprehensive, general administration, clothed with the attributes and energies of a government. The Congresses which had from time to time been assembled had no absolute and final power, and were found incompetent to the exigencies of a wide-extended, independent nation ; and the country was languishing, losing its national spirit, and fast becoming enfeebled, crippled, and broken down by the want of an adequate government for the whole people. Its interests were suffering in an infinite variety of ways, in its foreign relations ; and its domestic peace, enterprise, and prosperity, were rapidly disappearing before a spreading wave of dissension, distrust, and insubordination, which threatened to swallow up its liberty and happiness. Its bright and glorious promise was becoming prematurely and utterly blasted. And what made the case most melancholy and distressing was, that, to all appearance, it was beyond the

reach of remedy. It was certain that the States would never abandon their separate organization and independence of each other. They would not if they could ; and it required but a slight knowledge of human nature, and human history, to perceive, that they could not if they would. The States had from the first planting of the country been separate colonies, and could not have been consolidated. The question was, Can a frame of government be contrived to unite these several States under one general government, and still leave them substantially separate States ? Can a nation be formed by a union of States, still severally preserving their independence ? The question seemed, at first view, to negative itself,—to involve a contradiction of terms. But it was found to be capable of a solution, and a scheme was contrived by which the American States were resolved, for all necessary purposes, into one great, united, powerful nation, and for all other purposes, which were found to be, all desirable purposes, were left independent of each other, and severally in the possession and enjoyment of their own original sovereignty. This is the great principle of the Federal government—the mystery of the union of the North American States. It was revealed and illustrated in the Constitution of the United States of America. This momentous political consummation was secured by the aid of the name and the influence, the personal exertion and the superintending direction, of George Washington. His agency in the establishment of the Constitution of the United States will now be traced, and chiefly in his own words.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### *The Formation and Adoption of the Constitution.*

WASHINGTON had become convinced of the inadequacy of the Congress of the Confederation to maintain the interests and conduct the affairs of the United Colonies,

in an early period of the war. His thoughts were much directed to the subject of the formation of a more efficient government. He felt the necessity and the difficulty of the project, and immediately upon the cessation of hostilities it became the subject of his chief interest, and most frequent contemplation. He thus expressed his views and feelings relating to it, while at his quarters at Newburg.

*“ To Alexander Hamilton, in Congress.*

*“ Newburg, 31 March, 1783.*

“ DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favors of the 17th and 24th ultimo. I rejoice most exceedingly that there is an end to our warfare, and that such a field is opening to our view, as will, with wisdom to direct the cultivation of it, make us a great, a respectable, and happy people ; but it must be improved by other means than State politics, and unreasonable jealousies and prejudices, or it requires not the second sight to see, that we shall be instruments in the hands of our enemies, and those European powers, who may be jealous of our greatness in union, to dissolve the confederation. But, to obtain this, although the way seems extremely plain, is not so easy.

“ My wish to see the union of these States established upon liberal and permanent principles, and inclination to contribute my mite in pointing out the defects of the present constitution, are equally great. All my private letters have teemed with these sentiments, and, whenever this topic has been the subject of conversation, I have endeavored to diffuse and enforce them ; but how far any further essay by me might be productive of the wished-for end, or appear to arrogate more than belongs to me, depends so much upon popular opinion, and the temper and dispositions of the people, that it is not easy to decide. I shall be obliged to you, however, for the thoughts which you have promised me on this subject, and as soon as you can make it convenient.

“ No man in the United States is or can be more deeply impressed with the necessity of a reform in our present confederation than myself. No man perhaps has felt the

bad effects of it more sensibly ; for to the defects thereof, and want of power in Congress, may justly be ascribed the prolongation of the war, and consequently the expenses occasioned by it. More than half the perplexities I have experienced in the course of my command, and almost the whole of the difficulties and distress of the army, have had their origin here. But still, the prejudices of some, the designs of others, and the mere machinery of the majority, make address and management necessary to give weight to opinions, which are to combat the doctrines of those different classes of men in the field of politics.

“ I would have been more full on this subject, but the bearer (in the clothing department) is waiting. I wish you may understand what I have written. I am, &c.”

In his letter to the Governors of the several States, which has already been quoted, of the 8th of June, 1783, he urges this subject upon their notice in the following manner :

“ Such is our situation, and such are our prospects ; but, notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us ; notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion and make it our own ; yet it appears to me there is an option still left to the United States of America, that it is in their choice, and depends upon their conduct, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable, as a nation. This is the time of their political probation ; this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them ; this is the moment to establish or ruin their national character for ever ; this is the favorable moment to give such a tone to our federal government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution, or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of

policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall ; and by their confirmation or lapse it is yet to be decided, whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse ; a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

“ With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency the language of freedom and of sincerity without disguise. I am aware, however, that those who differ from me in political sentiment, may perhaps remark, that I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty, and may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention. But the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives ; the part I have hitherto acted in life ; the determination I have formed, of not taking any share in public business hereafter ; the ardent desire I feel, and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying, in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this address.

“ There are four things, which, I humbly conceive, are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

“ First. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

“ Second. A sacred regard to public justice.

“ Third. The adoption of a proper peace establishment ; and,

“ Fourth. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies ; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity ; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.”

“It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported, among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers, with the United States of America, will have no validity, on a dissolution of the Union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature ; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression, from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny, and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty, abused to licentiousness.”

“ *To the Hon. James Warren.*

“ Mount Vernon, Oct. 7, 1785.

“DEAR SIR,—The assurances of your friendship, after a silence of more than six years, are extremely pleasing to me. Friendships, formed under the circumstances that ours commenced, are not easily eradicated ; and, I can assure you, that mine has undergone no diminution. Every occasion, therefore, of renewing it, will give me pleasure ; and I shall be happy, at all times, to hear of your welfare.

The war, as you have very justly observed, has terminated most advantageously for America ; and a large and glorious field is presented to our view. But, I confess to you, my dear sir, that I do not think we possess wisdom or justice enough, to cultivate it properly. Illiberality, jealousy, and local policy, mix too much, in all our public councils, for the good government of the Union. In a word, the Confederation appears to me, to be little more than an empty sound, and Congress a nugatory body, the ordinances of it being very little attended to. To me, it is a solecism in politics, indeed, it is one of the most extraordinary things in nature, that we should confederate, for National purposes, and yet be afraid to give the rulers thereof, who are the creatures of our own making, appointed for a limited and short duration, who are amenable for every action, recallable at any moment, and subject to all the evils they may be instrumental in producing, sufficient powers to



order and direct the affairs of that nation. By such policy as this, the wheels of government are clogged ; and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation, which was entertained of us, by the wondering world, is turned into astonishment ; and, from the high ground on which we stood, we are descending into the valleys of confusion and darkness. That we have it in our power, to be one of the most respectable nations upon earth, admits not, in my humble opinion, of a doubt, if we would pursue a wise, just, and liberal, policy towards one another ; and would keep good faith with the rest of the world. That our resources are ample and increasing, none can deny ; but, whilst they are grudgingly applied, or not applied at all, we give the vital stab to public credit, and must sink into contempt, in the eyes of Europe.

“ It has long been a speculative question, amongst philosophers and wise men, whether foreign commerce is of advantage to any country ; that is, whether the luxury, effeminacy, and corruption, which are introduced by it, are counterbalanced by the conveniences and wealth, of which it is productive. But the right decision of this question is of very little importance to us. We have abundant reason to be convinced, that the spirit of trade, which pervades these States, is not to be restrained. It behooves us, therefore, to establish it upon just principles ; and this, any more than other matters of National concern, cannot be done by thirteen heads, differently constructed. The necessity, therefore, of a controlling power, is obvious ; and why it should be withheld, is beyond my comprehension.

“ The Agricultural Society, lately established in Philadelphia, promises extensive usefulness, if it is prosecuted with spirit. I wish, most sincerely, that every State in the Union would institute similar ones ; and that these societies would correspond, fully and freely, with each other, and communicate all useful discoveries, founded on practice, with a due attention to climate, soil, and seasons, to the public.

“ The great works of improving and extending the inland navigation of the two large rivers, Potomac and

James, which interlock with the western waters, are already begun ; and I have little doubt of their success. The consequences to the Union, in my judgement, are immense ; and more so, in a political, than in a commercial, point ; for, unless we can connect the new States, which are rising to our view, in the regions back of us, with those on the Atlantic, by interest, the only cement that will bind, and, in this case, no otherways to be effected, than by opening such communications as will make it easier and cheaper for them, to bring the product of their labor to our markets, instead of carrying them to the Spaniards, southwardly, or the British, northwardly, they will be quite a distinct people, and, ultimately, may be very troublesome neighbors to us. In themselves, considered merely as a hardy race, this may happen ; how much more so, if linked with either of those powers, in politics and commerce.

“ It would afford me great pleasure, to go over (with a mind more at ease) those grounds in your State, which I travelled in the years 1775—6 ; and to congratulate, on the happy change, with those characters, who participated of the anxious cares, with which those moments were filled, and for whom I entertain a sincere regard ; but I do not know whether to flatter myself with the enjoyment of it. The deranged state of my affairs, from an absence, and total neglect of them, for almost nine years, and a pressure of other matters, allow me little leisure for gratifications of this sort. Mrs. Washington offers compliments and best wishes to Mrs. Warren, to which be so good as to present those of, dear sir,

“ Your most obed’t humble servant.”

Writing to Madison, November 30, 1785, he thus expresses his strong conviction of the necessity of entrusting the regulation of the commerce of the whole country to the Government of the Nation, instead of leaving it with the States.

“ We are either a united people, or we are not so. If the former, let us, in all matters of general concern, act as a nation which has a national character to support ; if

we are not, let us no longer act a farce, by pretending to it ; for, whilst we are playing a double game, or playing a game between the two, we never shall be consistent or respectable, but may be the dupes of some powers, and the contempt, assuredly, of all."

"It is much to be wished, that public faith may be held inviolable. Painful is it, even in thought, that attempts should be made to weaken its bands. It is a dangerous experiment. Once slacken the reins, and the power is lost. And it is questionable with me, whether the advocates of the measure foresee all its consequences."

The experience and observation of the defects and evils of the Confederation gradually wrought the mind of Washington to a state of the deepest anxiety on the subject. He writes thus, in a tone almost of despair, to John Jay, from Mount Vernon, August 1, 1786 :

"Your sentiments, that our affairs are drawing rapidly to a crisis, accord with my own. What the event will be, is also beyond the reach of my foresight. We have errors to correct. We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation. Experience has taught us, that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of a coercive power. I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a power, which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States.

"To be fearful of investing Congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authorities for national purposes, appears to me the very climax of popular absurdity and madness."

"What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing ! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking ; thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous ! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions ! What a triumph for the advocates of

despotism to find, that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious ! Would to God, that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend.

“Retired as I am from the world, I frankly acknowledge I cannot feel myself an unconcerned spectator. Yet, having happily assisted in bringing the ship into port, and having been fairly discharged, it is not my business to embark again on a sea of troubles. Nor could it be expected, that my sentiments and opinions would have much weight on the minds of my countrymen. They have been neglected, though given as a last legacy in the most solemn manner. I had then perhaps some claims to public attention. I consider myself as having none at present.

“With sentiments of sincere esteem and friendship, I am, dear sir, &c.”

Shortly after this, on the 31st of October, of the same year, he writes to Henry Lee as follows :

“Mount Vernon, 31 October, 1786.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I am indebted to you for your several favors of the 1st, 11th, and 17th instant, and shall reply to them in the order of their dates. But first let me thank you for the interesting communications imparted by them.

“The picture which you have exhibited, and the accounts which are published of the commotions and temper of numerous bodies in the eastern States, present a state of things equally to be lamented and deprecated. They exhibit a melancholy proof of what our transatlantic foe has predicted ; and of another thing, perhaps, which is still more to be regretted, and is yet more unaccountable, that mankind, when left to themselves, are unfit for their own government. I am mortified beyond expression when I view the clouds, that have spread over the brightest morn that ever dawned upon any country.

“You talk, my good sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. *Influence* is not *government*. Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once. Under these impressions my humble opinion is, that there is a call for decision. Know precisely what the insurgents aim at. If they have *real* grievances, redress them if possible ; or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it at the moment. If they have not, employ the force of government against them at once. If this is inadequate, *all* will be convinced, that the superstructure is bad, or wants support. To be more exposed in the eyes of the world, and more contemptible than we already are, is hardly possible. To delay one or the other of these expedients, is to exasperate on the one hand, or to give confidence on the other, and will add to their numbers ; for, like snow-balls, such bodies increase by every movement, unless there is something in the way to obstruct and crumble them before their weight is too great and irresistible.

“These are my sentiments. Precedents are dangerous things. Let the reins of government then be braced and held with a steady hand, and every violation of the constitution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended, but not suffered to be trampled upon whilst it has an existence.”

In writing to James Madison, November 5th, he thus expresses his patriotic solicitude and distress of mind :

“Fain would I hope, that the great and most important of all subjects, the *federal government*, may be considered with that calm and deliberate attention, which the magnitude of it so critically and loudly calls for. Let prejudices, unreasonable jealousies, and local interests, yield to reason and liberality. Let us look to our national character, and to things beyond the present moment. No morn ever dawned more favorably than ours did ; and no day was ever more clouded than the present. Wis-

dom and good examples are necessary at this time to rescue the political machine from the impending storm. Virginia has now an opportunity to set the latter, and has enough of the former, I hope, to take the lead in promoting this great and arduous work. Without an alteration in our political creed, the superstructure we have been seven years in raising, at the expense of so much treasure and blood, must fall. We are fast verging to anarchy and confusion."

"How melancholy is the reflection, that in so short a time we should have made such large strides towards fulfilling the predictions of our transatlantic foes! 'Leave them to themselves, and their government will soon dissolve.' Will not the wise and good strive hard to avert this evil? Or will their supineness suffer ignorance, and the arts of self-interested, designing, disaffected, and desperate characters, to involve this great country in wretchedness and contempt? What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our government, than these disorders? If there is not power in it to check them, what security has a man for life, liberty, or property? To you I am sure I need not add aught on this subject. The consequences of a lax or inefficient government are too obvious to be dwelt upon. Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole; whereas a liberal and energetic constitution, well checked, and well watched to prevent encroachments, might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequence, to which we had the fairest prospect of attaining. With sentiments of very great esteem and regard,

"I am, dear sir, &c."

At length, Washington succeeded in his earnest efforts to procure an alteration of the government of the United States. The train of measures, which resulted in this consummation, was started by him, and conducted to its close. In March, 1785, some gentlemen who had met at Alexandria, as commissioners, on the part of Virginia and Maryland, relative to the navigation of the Potomac,

and other intermediate waters, made a visit to Mount Vernon. While there, Washington prevailed upon them to agree to propose to their respective governments the appointment of delegates, to assemble for the purpose of framing certain commercial regulations for their mutual advantage. The other States were invited to send delegations also, and become partners to the transaction. The result of this arrangement was a convention, held at Annapolis, in September, 1786, at which five States were represented. This convention did no more than to address a Report to their several governments, showing the deficiency of the confederation, and the necessity of a new form of union, and recommending the appointment of delegates, on the part of all the States, to a convention, to be held at Philadelphia in the ensuing spring.

The satisfaction which Washington experienced in witnessing these proceedings, and the joy with which he heard that the Legislature of Virginia had adopted the recommendation of the Annapolis Convention, are seen in the following passage of a letter to James Madison, of November 18th, 1786.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Not having sent to the post-office with my usual regularity, your favor of the 8th did not reach me in time for an earlier acknowledgement than of this date. It gives me the most sensible pleasure to hear, that the acts of the present session are marked with wisdom, justice, and liberality. They are the palladium of good policy, and the only paths that lead to national happiness. Would to God every State would let these be the leading features of their constituent characters. Those threatening clouds, which seem ready to burst on the confederacy, would soon be dispelled. The unanimity with which the bill was received for appointing commissioners agreeably to the recommendation of the Convention at Annapolis, and the uninterrupted progress it has met with since, are indications of a favorable issue. It is a measure of equal necessity and magnitude, and may be the spring of reanimation.”

His name, of course, was placed at the head of the delegation appointed to represent Virginia in the convention at Philadelphia. He had formed a determined resolution never again to be dragged into public life. His heart had become wedded, most fondly, to the thought of spending the remainder of his days in the enjoyment of rural tranquillity, in the gratification of his early and long-cherished taste for agricultural employments and operations, and in the exercise of hospitality, beneath the shade of his beloved Mount Vernon. A variety of other reasons also concurred in rendering it inconsistent with his comfort and convenience to attend the convention. But the exigency was compulsory, and the voice of his country reached him in tones that would not allow him to decline the service ; and on this, as on all other occasions, he relinquished his own determinations, in obedience to the call of reason and duty, and again sacrificed the peace, quiet, and domestic happiness he was enjoying, on the altar of his country.

In a letter to General Knox, of the 8th of March, 1787, he speaks thus on the subject. Similar inquiries were made of several of his other correspondents.

“ I am indirectly and delicately pressed to attend this convention. Several reasons are opposed to it in my mind, and not the least, having declined attending the general meeting of the Cincinnati, which is to be held in Philadelphia at the same time, on account of the disrespect it might seem to offer to that Society, were I to attend on another occasion. A thought has lately run through my mind, however, which is accompanied with embarrassment. It is, whether my non-attendance in the convention will not be considered as dereliction of republicanism ; nay, more, whether other motives may not, however injuriously, be ascribed for my not exerting myself on this occasion in support of it. Under these circumstances, let me pray you, my dear sir, to inform me confidentially what the public expectation is on this head ; that is, whether I shall or ought to be there. You are much in the way of obtaining the knowledge, and I can depend upon your friendship, candor, and judgement in



the communication of it, as far as it shall appear to you. My final determination, if what I have already given to the executive of this State is not considered in that light, cannot be delayed beyond the time necessary for your reply. With the most affectionate regard, I am, &c."

The following letter expresses his final determination:

*"To Edmund Randolph, Governor of Virginia.*

*"Mount Vernon, 28 March, 1787.*

"DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 11th did not come to my hand till the 24th, and since then till now I have been too much indisposed to acknowledge the receipt of it.

"It was the decided intention of the letter I had the honor of writing to your Excellency on the 21st of December last to inform you, that it was not convenient for me to attend the convention proposed to be held at Philadelphia in May next; and I had entertained hopes, that  
✓ another had been, or soon would be, appointed in my place, inasmuch as it is not only inconvenient for me to leave home, but because there will be, I apprehend, too much cause to charge my conduct with inconsistency in again appearing on a public theatre, after a public declaration to the contrary, and because it will, I fear, have a tendency to sweep me back into the tide of public affairs, when retirement and ease are so much desired by me, and so essentially necessary.

"However, as my friends, with a degree of solicitude which is unusual, seem to wish for my attendance on this occasion, I have come to a resolution to go, if my health will permit, provided, from the lapse of time between the date of your Excellency's letter and this reply, the executive may not (the reverse of which would be highly pleasing to me) have turned their thoughts to some other character; for, independently of all other considerations, I have of late been so much afflicted with a rheumatic complaint in my shoulder, that at times I am hardly able to raise my hand to my head, or turn myself in bed. This consequently might prevent my attendance, and

eventually a representation of the State, which would afflict me more sensibly than the disorder that occasioned it.

“If, after the expression of these sentiments, the executive should consider me as one of the delegates, I would thank your Excellency for the earliest advice of it ; because, if I am able and should go to Philadelphia, I shall have some previous arrangements to make, and would set off for that place the 1st or 2d of May, that I might be there in time to account personally for my conduct to the general meeting of the Cincinnati, which is to convene the first Monday of that month. My feelings would be much hurt, if that body should otherwise ascribe my attending the one, and not the other, to a disrespectful inattention to the Society, when the fact is, that I shall ever retain the most lively and affectionate regard for the members of it, on account of their attachment to me and uniform support upon many trying occasions, as well as on account of their public virtues, patriotism, and sufferings.

“I hope your Excellency will be found among the attending delegates. I should be glad to be informed who the others are ; and I cannot conclude without once more and in emphatical terms praying, that, if there is not a *decided* representation in prospect without me, another may be chosen in my room without ceremony and without delay, for the reasons already assigned. It would be unfortunate, indeed, if the State, which was the mover of this convention, should be unrepresented in it. With great respect, I have the honor to be your Excellency’s most obedient servant.”

On his way to Philadelphia he was received with public honors, and on the assembling of the convention was unanimously chosen its President.

“*To David Stuart.*

“Philadelphia, 1 July, 1787.

“DEAR SIR,—I have been favored with your letter of the 17th ultimo. As the rules of the convention pre-

vent me from relating any of the proceedings, and the gazettes contain, more fully than I could detail, other occurrences of a public nature, I have little to communicate to you in the article of news. Happy indeed will it be, if the convention shall be able to recommend such a firm and permanent government for this Union, that all who live under it may be secure in their lives, liberty, and property; and thrice happy would it be, if such a recommendation should obtain. Every body wishes, every body expects something from the convention; but what will be the final result of its deliberation, the book of fate must disclose. Persuaded I am, that the primary cause of all our disorders lies in the different State governments, and in the tenacity of that power, which pervades the whole of their systems. Whilst independent sovereignty is so ardently contended for, whilst the local views of each State, and separate interests, by which they are too much governed, will not yield to a more enlarged scale of politics, incompatibility in the laws of different States, and disrespect to those of the general government, must render the situation of this great country weak, inefficient, and disgraceful. It has already done so, almost to the final dissolution of it. Weak at home and disregarded abroad is our present condition, and contemptible enough it is."

*" To the Marquis de Lafayette.*

*" Philadelphia, 18 September, 1787.*

"MY DEAR MARQUIS,—In the midst of hurry, and in the moment of my departure from this city, I address this letter to you. The principal, indeed the only design of it, is to fulfil the promise I made, that I would send to you the proceedings of the federal convention, as soon as the business was closed. More than this, circumstanced as I am at present, it is not in my power to do; nor am I inclined to attempt it, as the enclosure must speak for itself, and will occupy your thoughts for some time.

"It is the result of four months' deliberation. It is now a child of fortune, to be fostered by some and buffetted by others. What will be the general opinion, or the reception of it, is not for me to decide; nor shall I say

any thing for or against it. If it be good, I suppose it will work its way ; if bad, it will recoil on the framers. My best wishes attend you and yours. With the sincerest friendship and most affectionate regard,

“ I am, ever, &c.”

“ *To Patrick Henry.*

“ Mount Vernon, 24 September, 1787.

“ DEAR SIR,—In the first moment after my return, I take the liberty of sending to you a copy of the constitution, which the federal convention has submitted to the people of these States. I accompany it with no observations. Your own judgement will at once discover the good and the exceptionable parts of it ; and your experience of the difficulties, which have ever arisen when attempts have been made to reconcile such a variety of interests and local prejudices, as pervade the several States, will render explanation unnecessary. I wish the constitution, which is offered, had been more perfect ; but I sincerely believe it is the best that could be obtained at this time. And, as a constitutional door is opened for amendments hereafter, the adoption of it, under the present circumstances of the Union, is in my opinion desirable.

“ From a variety of concurring accounts it appears to me, that the political concerns of this country are in a manner suspended by a thread, and that the convention has been looked up to, by the reflecting part of the community, with a solicitude which is hardly to be conceived ; and, if nothing had been agreed on by that body, anarchy would soon have ensued, the seeds being deeply sown in every soil. I am, &c.”

“ *To Mrs. Catharine Macaulay Graham.*

“ Mount Vernon, 16 November, 1787.

“ MADAM,—Your favor of the 10th of October, 1786, came duly to hand, and should have had a much earlier acknowledgement, had not the business of the public, in which I have been in a manner compelled again to engage, engrossed the whole of my time for several months

past, and my own private affairs required my unremitting attention since my return home.

“Mr. Pine’s historical painting does not appear to go on very rapidly. He informed me, when I was in Philadelphia, that he had been collecting materials to enable him to proceed with it, but that it must be a work of time to accomplish it.

“You will undoubtedly, before you receive this, have an opportunity of seeing the plan of government proposed by the convention for the United States. You will very readily conceive, madam, the difficulties, which the convention had to struggle against. The various and opposite interests which were to be conciliated, the local prejudices which were to be subdued, the diversity of opinions and sentiments which were to be reconciled, and, in fine, the sacrifices which were necessary to be made on all sides for the general welfare, combined to make it a work of so intricate and difficult a nature, that I think it is much to be wondered at, that any thing could have been produced with such unanimity as the constitution proposed. It is now submitted to the consideration of the people, and waits their decision. The Legislatures of the States, which have been convened since the constitution was offered, have readily agreed to the calling of conventions in their respective States; some by a unanimous vote, and others by a large majority. But whether it will be adopted by the people, or not, remains yet to be determined.

“I have the honor to be, madam, &c.”

“*To the Marquis de Chastellux*

“Mount Vernon, 25 April, 1788.

“DEAR SIR,—The constitution, which was proposed by the federal convention, has been adopted by the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Georgia. No State has rejected it. The convention of Maryland is now sitting, and will probably adopt it; as that of South Carolina is expected to do in May. The other conventions will assemble early in the summer. Hitherto there has been much greater unanimity in favor of the proposed government,

than could have reasonably been expected. Should it be adopted, and I think it will be, America will lift up her head again, and in a few years become respectable among the nations. It is a flattering and consolatory reflection, that our rising republics have the good wishes of all the philosophers, patriots, and virtuous men in all nations; and that they look upon them as a kind of asylum for mankind. God grant that we may not disappoint their honest expectations by our folly or perverseness."

The Constitution which the Convention at Philadelphia had submitted to the States, was referred in each State to a convention of the people, called for the sole purpose of determining upon it, and it was to go into operation if adopted by nine States. The interest which was felt in the deliberations and decisions of the several popular conventions was naturally very great throughout the country. In writing to Lafayette, June 18, 1788, Washington thus expresses himself :

"In a letter I wrote you a few days ago by Mr. Barlow, but which might not possibly have reached New York until after his departure, I mentioned the accession of Maryland to the proposed government, and gave you the state of politics to that period. Since which the Convention of South Carolina has ratified the Constitution by a great majority. That of this State has been sitting almost three weeks; and, so nicely does it appear to be balanced, that each side asserts it has a preponderancy of votes in its favor. It is probable, therefore, the majority will be small, let it fall on whichever part it may. I am inclined to believe it will be in favor of the adoption. The Conventions of New York and New Hampshire both assemble this week. A large proportion of members, with the Governor at their head, in the former, are said to be opposed to the government in contemplation. New Hampshire, it is thought, will adopt it without much hesitation or delay. It is a little strange, that the men of large property in the south should be more afraid that the Constitution will produce an aristocracy or a monarchy, than the genuine democratical people of the east. Such are our

actual prospects. The accession of one State more will complete the number, which, by the constitutional provision, will be sufficient in the first instance to carry the government into effect.

“ And then, I expect that many blessings will be attributed to our new government, which are now taking their rise from that industry and frugality, into the practice of which the people have been forced from necessity. I really believe, that there never was so much labor and economy to be found before in the country as at the present moment. If they persist in the habits they are acquiring, the good effects will soon be distinguishable. When the people shall find themselves secure under an energetic government, when foreign nations shall be disposed to give us equal advantages in commerce from dread of retaliation, when the burdens of war shall be in a manner done away by the sale of western lands, when the seeds of happiness which are sown here shall begin to expand themselves, and when every one, under his own vine and fig-tree, shall begin to taste the fruits of freedom, then all these blessings (for all these blessings will come) will be referred to the fostering influence of the new government. Whereas many causes will have conspired to produce them. You see I am not less enthusiastic than I ever have been, if a belief that peculiar scenes of felicity are reserved for this country is to be denominated enthusiasm. Indeed, I do not believe, that Providence has done so much for nothing. It has always been my creed, that we should not be left as a monument to prove, ‘that mankind, under the most favorable circumstances for civil liberty and happiness, are unequal to the task of governing themselves, and therefore made for a master.’ ”

The effect of the intelligence of the final adoption of the Constitution by the requisite number of States is thus described :

“ *To Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.*

“ Mount Vernon, 28 June, 1788.

“ DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure to receive, a day or two ago, your obliging letter of the 24th of last month,

in which you advise me of the ratification of the federal Constitution by South Carolina. By a more rapid water conveyance, that good news had some few days before arrived at Baltimore, so as to have been very opportunely communicated to the Convention of this State in session at Richmond. It is with great satisfaction I have it now in my power to inform you, that, on the 25th instant, the delegates of Virginia adopted the Constitution *in toto*, by a division of eighty-nine in favor of it, to seventy-nine against it; and that, notwithstanding the majority is so small, yet, in consequence of some conciliatory conduct and recommendatory amendments, a happy acquiescence, it is said, is likely to terminate the business here in as favorable a manner as could possibly have been expected.

“No sooner had the citizens of Alexandria, who are federal to a man, received the intelligence by the mail last night, than they determined to devote this day to festivity. But their exhilaration was greatly increased, and a much keener zest given to their enjoyment, by the arrival of an express, two hours before day, with the news, that the Convention of New Hampshire had, on the 21st instant, acceded to the new confederacy by a majority of eleven voices, that is to say, fifty-seven to forty-six.

“Thus the citizens of Alexandria, when convened, constituted the first public company in America, which had the pleasure of pouring a libation to the prosperity of the ten States, that had actually adopted the general government. The day itself is memorable for more reasons than one. It was recollected, that this day is the anniversary of the battles of Sullivan’s Island and Monmouth. I have just returned from assisting at the entertainment, and mention these details, unimportant as they are in themselves, the rather because I think we may rationally indulge the pleasing hope, that the Union will now be established upon a durable basis, and that Providence seems still disposed to favor the members of it with unequalled opportunities for political happiness.

“From the local situation, as well as the other circumstances of North Carolina, I should be truly astonished



if that State should withdraw itself from the Union. On the contrary, I flatter myself with a confident expectation, that more salutary counsels will certainly prevail. At present, there is more doubt how the question will be immediately disposed of in New York ; for it seems to be understood, that there is a majority in the convention opposed to the adoption of the new federal system. Yet it is hardly to be supposed, or rather, in my judgement, it is irrational to suppose, that they will reject a government which, from an unorganized embryo ready to be stifled with a breath, has now, in the maturity of its birth, assumed a confirmed bodily existence. Or, to drop the metaphor, the point in debate has, at least, shifted its ground from policy to expediency. The decision of ten States cannot be without its operation. Perhaps the wisest way, in this crisis, will be, not to attempt to accept or reject, but to adjourn, until the people in some parts of the State can consider the magnitude of the question, and the consequences involved in it, more coolly and deliberately."

The Constitution was at length adopted, in all the States, and the great wish of Washington's heart accomplished, in having secured for his country, an adequate government, and a firm union of the States, as one people. The following passages, from his correspondence, show the feelings with which he contemplated the auspicious progress of events, resulting in the establishment of the Constitution of the United States.

"A greater drama is now acting on this theatre, than has heretofore been brought on the American stage, or any other in the world. We exhibit, at present, the novel and astonishing spectacle, of a whole people deliberating, calmly, on what form of government will be most conducive to their happiness.

"We may, with a kind of pious and grateful exultation, trace the finger of Providence through those dark and mysterious events, which first induced the States to appoint a general Convention, and then led them, one after another, by such steps as were best calculated to effect the object, into an adoption of the system recommended by that general Convention ; thereby, in all human proba-

bility, laying a lasting foundation for tranquillity and happiness, when we had but too much reason to fear, that confusion and misery were coming, rapidly, upon us. That the same good Providence may still continue to protect us, and prevent us from dashing the cup of National felicity, just as it has been lifted to our lips, is the earnest prayer of, my dear sir, your faithful friend, &c."

"If we may calculate upon rectitude in the views, and prudence in the conduct, of the leading characters throughout the States, accompanied by industry and honesty in the mass of the people, we may assuredly anticipate a new era; and, perhaps, we shall not deceive ourselves, by expecting a more happy one, than has before appeared on this checkered scene of existence."

"No one can rejoice more than I do, at every step the people of this great country take, to preserve the Union, to establish good order and government, and to render the Nation happy, at home, and respectable, abroad. No country upon earth ever had it more in its power, to attain these blessings, than United America. Wondrously strange, then, and much to be regretted, indeed, would it be, were we to neglect the means, and to depart from the road, which Providence has pointed out to us, so plainly. I cannot believe it will ever come to pass. The great Governor of the Universe has led us too long and too far on the road to happiness and glory, to forsake us in the midst of it."

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

### *Washington chosen President of the United States.*

By the new Constitution, a President of the United States was required to be elected to serve for a term of four years. It may be said, with literal and precise truth, that all eyes were at once turned, and all hearts fixed, upon Washington for this office. It was obvious that his

influence and wisdom were needed to lead the government into a path, adapted to the principles on which it was founded, and conducive to the ends it was designed to promote. The voice of the people again reached him from all quarters, and he listened to it with the same solemn and reluctant, but conscientious attention, with which he always regarded every call that summoned him away from his chosen and cherished retirement at Mount Vernon. The following extracts from his correspondence show the feelings with which he contemplated his election to the Presidency.

“I would willingly pass over in silence that part of your letter in which you mention the persons, who are candidates for the two first offices in the executive, if I did not fear the omission might seem to betray a want of confidence. Motives of delicacy have prevented me hitherto from conversing or writing on this subject, whenever I could avoid it with decency. I may, however, with great sincerity, and I believe without offending against modesty or propriety, say to *you*, that I most heartily wish the choice to which you allude may not fall upon me; and that, if it should, I must reserve to myself the right of making up my final decision at the last moment, when it can be brought into one view, and when the expediency or in expediency of a refusal can be more judiciously determined than at present. But be assured, my dear sir, if from any inducement I shall be persuaded ultimately to accept, it will not be (so far as I know my own heart) from any of a private or personal nature. Every personal consideration conspires to rivet me (if I may use the expression) to retirement. At my time of life, and under my circumstances, nothing in this world can ever draw me from it, unless it be a *conviction* that the partiality of my countrymen had made my services absolutely necessary, joined to a *fear* that my refusal might induce a belief that I preferred the conservation of my own reputation and private ease to the good of my country. After all, if I should conceive myself in a manner constrained to accept, I call Heaven to witness, that this very act would be the greatest sacrifice of my

personal feelings and wishes, that ever I have been called upon to make. It would be to forego repose and domestic enjoyment, for trouble, perhaps for public obloquy ; for I should consider myself as entering upon an unexplored field, enveloped on every side with clouds and darkness.

“From this embarrassing situation I had naturally supposed that my declarations at the close of the war would have saved me ; and that my sincere intentions, then publicly made known, would have effectually precluded me for ever afterwards from being looked upon as a candidate for any office. This hope, as a last anchor of worldly happiness in old age, I had still carefully preserved until the public papers, and private letters from my correspondents in almost every quarter, taught me to apprehend that I might soon be obliged to answer the question, whether I would go again into public life or not.”

“I can say little or nothing new, in consequence of the repetition of your opinion, on the expediency there will be for my accepting the office to which you refer. Your sentiments, indeed, coincide much more nearly with those of my other friends, than with my own feelings. In truth, my difficulties increase and multiply as I draw towards the period, when, according to the common belief, it will be necessary for me to give a definitive answer, in one way or another. Should circumstances render it in a manner inevitably necessary to be in the affirmative, be assured, my dear sir, I shall assume the task with the most unfeigned reluctance, and with a real diffidence, for which I shall probably receive no credit from the world. If I know my own heart, nothing short of a conviction of duty will induce me again to take an active part in public affairs ; and, in that case, if I can form a plan for my own conduct, my endeavors shall be unremittingly exerted, even at the hazard of former fame or present popularity, to extricate my country from the embarrassments in which it is entangled through want of credit ; and to establish a general system of policy, which if pursued will insure permanent felicity to the commonwealth. I think I see a path, as clear and as direct as a ray

of light, which leads to the attainment of that object. Nothing but harmony, honesty, industry, and frugality, are necessary to make us a great and happy people."

"If it should be my inevitable fate to administer the government, (for Heaven knows, that no event can be less desired by me, and that no earthly consideration, short of so general a call, together with a desire to reconcile contending parties, as far as in me lies, could again bring me into public life,) I will go to the chair under no pre-engagement, of any kind or nature, whatsoever. But, when in it, I will, to the best of my judgement, discharge the duties of the office, with that impartiality and zeal for the public good, which ought never to suffer connexions of blood or friendship to intermingle, so as to have the least sway on decisions of a public nature. I may err, notwithstanding my most strenuous efforts to execute the difficult trust with fidelity, and unexceptionably; but my errors shall be of the head, not of the heart. For all recommendations for appointments, so far as they may depend upon, or come from, me, a due regard shall be had to the fitness of characters, the pretensions of different candidates, and, so far as is proper, to political considerations. These shall be, invariably, my governing motives."

"A combination of circumstances and events seems to have rendered my embarking, again, on the ocean of public affairs, inevitable. How opposite this is to my own desires and inclinations, I need not say. Those who know me are, I trust, convinced of it. For the rectitude of my intentions, I appeal to the great Searcher of hearts; and, if I have any knowledge of myself, I can declare, that no prospects, however flattering, no personal advantage, however great, no desire of fame, to however easily it might be acquired, could induce me to quit the private walks of life, at my age and in my situation; but if, by any exertion or services of mine, my country can be benefited, I shall feel more amply compensated for the sacrifices which I make, than I possibly can be by any other means."

At length he was officially notified, by a letter from John Langdon, who, on the assembling, for the first time, of the

Senate of the United States, had been appointed President, *pro tempore*, of that body, of his election to the Presidency of the United States, by a unanimous vote of the electors in their several colleges. His reply was as follows:

“ *To John Langdon.*

“ Mount Vernon, 14 April, 1789.

“ SIR,—I had the honor to receive your official communication, by the hand of Mr. Secretary Thomson, about one o'clock this day. Having concluded to obey the important and flattering call of my country, and having been impressed with an idea of the expediency of my being with Congress at as early a period as possible, I propose to commence my journey on Thursday morning, which will be the day after to-morrow. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of esteem, sir, &c.”

On the 16th of April, 1789, President Washington left his residence to proceed to New York, where Congress was in session, to assume the administration of the new government. In his Diary he thus describes his departure :—“ About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity ; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York, in company with Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country, in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations.” At Alexandria he was met by the citizens, and received with the most cordial welcome ; and, indeed, along his whole path there was one uninterrupted and unanimous expression of public joy, confidence, and gratitude. The following address of the people of Alexandria is an interesting memorial of the love and veneration of his immediate neighbors.

“ Again your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement ; and this too at a period of life, when Nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose !

“Not to extol your glory as a soldier ; not to pour forth our gratitude for past services ; not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honor which has been conferred upon you by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrages of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy ; nor to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your neighbors and friends now address you. Themes less splendid but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us ; our aged must lose their ornament ; our youth their model ; our agriculture its improver ; our commerce its friend ; our infant academy its protector ; our poor their benefactor ; and the interior navigation of the Potomac (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitting exertions, brought into partial use) its institutor and promoter.

“Farewell !—go ! and make a grateful people happy, a people, who will be doubly grateful when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

“To that Being who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you ; and after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may He restore to us again, the best of men, and the most beloved fellow-citizen !”

His answer was in these words :

“GENTLEMEN,—Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the Presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice ; the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe as well as from America ; the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the Constitution in its present form ; and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in connecting the good-will of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best, (and you, my fellow-citizens, are, from your situation, in that number,) know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consid-

eration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution 'never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature.' For, at my age, and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life ?

"I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection ; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

"In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendships is but too well calculated still further to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

"All that now remains for me is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being who, on a former occasion, hath happily brought us together, after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence ; while, from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbors, farewell !"

No event probably ever occasioned greater satisfaction to the people of the United States than his acceptance of the Presidency. It was well known that he felt a most unaffected reluctance to assume the office. It was uncertain, up to the last moment, whether he could be prevailed upon to do it ; and when intelligence was received that he had yielded to the voice of his country, and was on his way to the seat of government, it spread the most enthusiastic delight throughout the nation. The people rushed forth from their towns and villages to see and to bless the Hero and the Father of his country, as he passed along ;



“Met him in boroughs, cities, villages,  
Attended him on bridges, stood in lanes,  
Laid gifts before him, proffered him their oaths,  
Gave him their heirs.”

The public feeling of love and reverence was expressed in every variety of form, which taste and ingenuity could suggest. At Philadelphia he was received by a concourse of the most distinguished characters of the city and State, and followed by thousands of the people to a grand banquet, prepared for the occasion, where addresses were interchanged, while the air was filled with the shouts of popular enthusiasm, and with joyous acclamation, invoking blessings upon him. As he crossed the Schuylkill, a crown of unfading laurel was dropped upon his head from the hands of a little boy, who had been concealed for the purpose among the leaves of an evergreen arch erected over the centre of the bridge. But the most affecting and delightful reception was given him at Trenton. The following account, written at the time, has a freshness of coloring which cannot be improved by any more elaborate description. It is an extract from a private letter.

“Enclosed you have a view of the triumphal arch which was erected and decorated by the ladies of Trenton, on the 21st April, 1789, in honor of his Excellency General Washington, who passed through on that day in his way to New York, to take upon him the administration of the government of the United States. The arch was erected in the centre of the bridge which extends across Assanpink Creek, at the extreme of Trenton, where our gallant General, at one time, made so noble a coup on the enemy of his country; and at another, so important a stand, and a retreat worth more than a victory. The arch was eighteen feet high, fifteen feet in breadth, and ten in length, supported by thirteen pillars intertwined with wreaths of laurel and evergreen. On the front was inscribed, in large golden letters,

‘THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS,  
WILL BE THE  
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.’

Over this, in the centre of the arch, on a square, orna-

mented with festoons of evergreens, decorated with flowers, was the date of his glorious victory at Trenton, when nine hundred Hessians were made prisoners, and the horizon of American affairs was enlightened by a radiance which never again forsook it. On the summit of the arch a large sun-flower, as always pointing to the sun, was designed to express this motto—‘TO YOU ALONE.’ The circle of the arch, both above and below the inscription, was ornamented with wreaths of evergreens, interwoven with artificial flowers of every kind, which made a most beautiful appearance; a large festoon of flowers likewise hung from the inner circle of the arch, and gave the whole a finished air of grandeur.

“The ladies had arranged themselves in the footway on one side of the street, between the arch and the town, with their daughters in front, to a very considerable number, all dressed in white, and decorated with wreaths and chaplets of flowers, six of whom held baskets of flowers in their hands. As soon as the General had passed under the arch, the little choristers advanced, singing the following sonnet, composed for the occasion.

“ ‘Welcome, mighty Chief! Once more  
Welcome to this grateful shore;  
Now no mercenary foe  
Aims again the fatal blow—  
Aims at ~~THEE~~ the fatal blow.

“ ‘Virgins fair, and matrons grave,  
Those thy conquering arms did save,  
Build for ~~THEE~~ triumphal bowers;  
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—  
Strew your Hero’s way with flowers.’

“As they sung the last lines they strewed the flowers before the General, who halted till the sonnet was finished.

“Being presented with a copy of the sonnet, his Excellency was pleased to address the following card to the ladies:

“ ‘To the LADIES of Trenton, who were assembled on the 21st April, 1789, at the *Triumphal Arch*, erect-

ed by them on the bridge which extends across the Assanpink Creek.

“ ‘ General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgements to the matrons and young ladies, who received him in so novel and graceful a manner at the triumphal arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensations he experienced in that affecting moment. The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot ; the elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion ; and the innocent appearance of the *white-robed choir*, who met him with the gratulatory song, have made such an impression on his remembrance, as, he assures them, can never be effaced.

“ ‘ *Trenton, April 21, 1789.* ’ ”

Two days before Washington reached New York, the Vice President, John Adams, took his seat, as President of the Senate, on which occasion he addressed that body, and, in the course of his speech, he thus congratulated the people of the United States upon the government which had then been formed, and upon the character of the illustrious citizen who was on his way to assume the chair of the chief magistracy :

“ It is with satisfaction that I congratulate the people of America on the formation of a national constitution, and the fair prospect of a consistent administration of a government of laws ; on the acquisition of a House of Representatives, chosen by themselves ; of a Senate thus composed by their own State Legislatures ; and on the prospect of an executive authority, in the hands of one whose portrait I shall not presume to draw. Were I blessed with powers to do justice to his character, it would be impossible to increase the confidence or affection of his country, or make the smallest addition to his glory. This can only be effected by a discharge of the present exalted trust on the same principles, with the same abilities and virtues, which have uniformly appeared in all his former conduct, public or private. May I nevertheless be indulged to inquire, if we look over the catalogue of the first magistrates of nations, whether they have been de-

nominated presidents or consuls, kings or princes, where shall we find one, whose commanding talents and virtues, whose overruling good fortune, have so completely united all hearts and voices in his favor? who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign nations, and fellow-citizens, with equal unanimity? Qualities so uncommon, are no common blessings to the country that possesses them. By these great qualities, and their benign effects, has Providence marked out the head of this nation, with a hand so distinctly visible, as to have been seen by all men, and mistaken by none."

At Elizabethtown, Washington met the deputation sent over from Congress, and other bodies in New York, to receive and transport him to that city. A beautifully decorated barge, manned and rowed by thirteen branch pilots, there awaited him. The embarkation took place on the 23d of April. It was a most delightful morning. The wide and beautiful waters were covered with boats filled with people; the shipping were dressed for the occasion, their banners and pennons streaming to the wind, and their decks and rigging crowded with spectators; the shores were alive with the thronging population of all the surrounding region. As the brilliant and magnificent flotilla moved along over the sparkling bosom of the waters, the heavens rang with the echoes and intonations of the loud-mouthed cannon, with the thrilling and animating tones of martial music, and with an infinite variety of other exciting and exhilarating sounds, proceeding from a delighted, admiring, and grateful people. But the great and good mind of Washington was not beguiled by all these flattering plaudits. Even in the midst of the exhilarating and festive gayeties of this triumphal scene, he forgot not the magnitude of the task, the solemnity of the responsibility, imposed upon him. His thoughtful and conscientious spirit looked beyond the dazzle of the spectacle around him, to the untried difficulties and dangers that thronged the path through which he was called to conduct his country. In his Diary we find the following record of his feelings at the time:—"The display of boats which attended and joined on this occasion, some with

vocal, and others with instrumental music on board, the decorations of the ships, the roar of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people, which rent the sky as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as painful (contemplating the reverse of this scene, which may be the case after all my labors to do good) as they were pleasing."

He was met at the wharf by the Governor of the State and the authorities of the city, and after passing in procession through the streets, escorted by a large military force, he was conducted to the house prepared for his residence. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated. On the 30th of April, the ceremony of his public Inauguration took place. The Vice President of the United States attended, accompanied by the Senate and House of Representatives, the heads of departments, foreign ministers, and public officers of every description. At nine o'clock in the morning, all the churches in the city were opened, and prayers offered in them severally, imploring the blessings of Heaven upon the President elect, and upon the proceedings of the new government. Chancellor Livingston administered the oath of office, and, on the conclusion of that part of the ceremony, formally proclaimed him President of the United States; whereupon the whole people, with one voice, exclaimed, "God bless our Washington! Long live our beloved President!" The President then delivered the following address to the two Houses of Congress:

*"Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:*

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear

to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust, to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from Nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that, if in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

“Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible Hand, which conducts

the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And, in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none, under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

“ By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President ‘to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.’ The circumstances, under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer you to the great constitutional charter under which we are assembled ; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism, which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications I behold the sure pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views or party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye, which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests ; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes, which

can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

“ I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction, which an ardent love for my country can inspire ; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of Nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity ; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained ; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked, on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

“ Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgement to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power, delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution, is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good ; for I assure myself, that, whilst you carefully avoid every alteration, which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience ; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impreguably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

“ To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of



Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required, that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department ; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

“ Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave ; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that, since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness ; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend.

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

Immediately after communicating with Congress, the President returned to his residence. In the evening the city was again brilliantly illuminated.

The two branches of the National Legislature responded to the Inaugural Speech in terms of the warmest attachment and veneration for the Chief Magistrate. The Senate expressed themselves thus :

“ The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favor, is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence, and affection of the citizens of America, and is the high-

est testimonial at once of your merit, and their esteem. We are sensible, sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow-citizens could have called you from a retreat, chosen with the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose of declining years. We rejoice, and with us all America, that, in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to public life. In you all parties confide ; in you all interests unite ; and we have no doubt that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions ; and that your prudence and sagacity as a statesman will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendor to that country, which your skill and valor as a soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and to empire."

The House of Representatives were equally cordial and enthusiastic in their language and sentiments.

"The representatives of the people of the United States," says this address, "present their congratulations on the event by which your fellow-citizens have attested the pre-eminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem. You have often received tokens of their affection. You now possess the only proof that remained of their gratitude for your services, of their reverence for your wisdom, and of their confidence in your virtues. You enjoy the highest, because the truest honor, of being the first magistrate, by the unanimous choice of the freest people on the face of the earth.

"We well know the anxieties with which you must have obeyed the summons from the repose reserved for your declining years, into public scenes of which you had taken your leave for ever. But obedience was due to the occasion. It is already applauded by the universal joy which welcomes you to your station. And we cannot doubt that it will be rewarded with all the satisfaction, with which an ardent love for your fellow-citizens must review successful efforts to promote their happiness.

"This anticipation is not justified merely by the past experience of your signal services. It is particularly sug-

gested by the pious impressions under which you commence your administration, and the enlightened maxims by which you mean to conduct it. We feel with you the strongest obligations to adore the invisible Hand which has led the American people through so many difficulties ; to cherish a conscious responsibility for the destiny of republican liberty ; and to seek the only sure means of preserving and recommending the precious deposit, in a system of legislation founded on the principles of an honest policy, and directed by the spirit of a diffusive patriotism.

“ In forming the pecuniary provisions for the executive department, we shall not lose sight of a wish resulting from motives which give it a peculiar claim to our regard. Your resolution, in a moment critical to the liberties of your country, to renounce all personal emolument, was among the many presages of your patriotic services, which have been amply fulfilled ; and your scrupulous adherence now to the law then imposed on yourself, cannot fail to demonstrate the purity, whilst it increases the lustre of a character which has so many titles to admiration.

“ Such are the sentiments with which we have thought fit to address you. They flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe that, among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous citizen whose heart will disown them.

“ All that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplications for the blessing of Heaven on our country ; and that we add our own for the choicest of these blessings on the most beloved of her citizens.”

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

### *Washington's Administration.*

THE following passages from Washington's correspondence illustrate the feelings and principles with which he proceeded to execute the duties of his high office :

*" To Edward Rutledge.*

*" New York, 5 May, 1789.*

" MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot fail of being much pleased with the friendly part you take in every thing which concerns me, and particularly with the just scale on which you estimate this last great sacrifice, that I consider myself as having made for the good of my country. When I had judged, upon the best appreciation I was able to form of the circumstances which related to myself, that it was my duty to embark again on the tempestuous ocean of public life, I gave up all expectations of private happiness in this world. You know, my dear sir, I had concentrated all my schemes, all my views, all my wishes, within the narrow circle of domestic enjoyment.

" Though I flatter myself the world will do me the justice to believe, that, at my time of life and in my circumstances, nothing but a conviction of duty could have induced me to depart from my resolution of remaining in retirement, yet I greatly apprehend, that my countrymen will expect too much from me. I fear, if the issue of public measures should not correspond with their sanguine expectations, they will turn the extravagant, and I might almost say undue praises, which they are heaping upon me at this moment, into equally extravagant, though I will fondly hope unmerited, censures.

" So much is expected, so many untoward circumstances may intervene, in such a new and critical situation, that I feel an insuperable diffidence in my own abilities. I feel, in the execution of the duties of my arduous office, how much I shall stand in need of the countenance and aid of every friend to myself, of every friend to the Revolution, and of every lover of good government. I thank you, my dear sir, for your affectionate expressions on this point.

" I anticipate, that one of the most difficult and delicate parts of the duty of my office will be that, which relates to nominations for appointments. I receive with the more satisfaction the strong testimonials in behalf of Mr. Hall, because I hope they will tend to supersede

the difficulty in this instance. Though, from a system, which I have prescribed to myself, I can say nothing decisive on particular appointments, yet I may be allowed to observe in general, that nothing could be more agreeable to me, than to have one candidate brought forward for every office with such clear pretensions, as to secure him against competition.

“Mrs. Washington is not here, but is shortly expected. On her arrival I will offer the compliments of Mrs. Rutledge and yourself to her. In the mean time I pray you to believe, that I am, with sentiments of the highest regard and esteem, &c.”

Washington's old friend, General James Warren, of Plymouth, together with many other truly patriotic individuals, had opposed the adoption of the Constitution, from an apprehension that its powers were too great, and that its tendency would be to consolidate the country, at the expense of the rights, dignity, and independence, of the States, as such. When, however, the Constitution had been established, by the decisive expression of the popular voice, General Warren pledged his allegiance and support to it, in a letter to Washington, of which the following is an extract.

“When your arrival at the head of the General Government is announced, it is become my duty, as it was before my inclination, to make my congratulations, both to you and to my country ; which I most sincerely do, on this occasion ; for, however I may have been, at first, in opinion against the new Constitution, before its ratification, I now think it the duty of every good citizen, to rejoice in every measure, calculated to carry it into operation, agreeable to the principles on which it was adopted. Among which, I can conceive of none more suited to the purpose, than placing at the head of it, a man, who enjoys the unlimited and well-founded confidence of the whole country. I do not flatter you, sir, when I assure you, that my own particular wishes, founded on the greatest respect, esteem, and friendship, are fully gratified by this event ; nor do I deceive you, when I tell you that

it will give me pleasure, to do every thing in my power, to make your administration easy to yourself, and happy to your country. Your Excellency will have no difficulty, in believing me very sincere, (notwithstanding any misrepresentations, originating from party, and founded in tory resentments,) when I assure you, sir, that I am the same man, governed by the same principles, and pursuing the same line of conduct, I did, when you was pleased to honor me with a considerable share of your confidence, at Cambridge. I feel happy in contemplating, that I never deceived you, then, in point of sincerity and zeal for the public good, or in attachment to your person.

“ The new Government, however untrodden and delicate the ground is, on which the several branches have to act, seems to open with the auspicious omen of harmony, a circumstance very favorable to the hopes of their surmounting the many and great difficulties they have to encounter, in the infancy of the government, when precedents are to be established, with caution, and laws to originate, without precedents. I will detain you no longer, from your many and arduous avocations, than to wish you every blessing and success.”

Washington's reply was as follows :

“ *To the Hon. James Warren.*

“ New York, May 21st, 1789.

“ SIR,—I have duly received your very friendly letter of the 2nd inst., and beg you to accept of my sincere acknowledgement and best thanks, for the kind congratulations and good wishes, which were contained in it. It affords me peculiar satisfaction, to see the union of sentiment which seems to prevail, in favor of our new system of government. I find that the good and respectable characters, from every quarter, are determined to give it their countenance and support, notwithstanding some of them apprehended that evils might arise from particular parts of it.

“ Those who opposed the Constitution, before its adoption, from principle, were pretty generally convinced of the necessity there was, for a change in our former confederation ; but its being accepted by so large a part of

the community, the harmony which prevails in the Legislature, and the prospect of having their apprehensions done away, by some alterations, have induced them to say with you, that 'it is the duty of every good citizen, to rejoice in every measure, calculated to carry it into operation, agreeably to the principles on which it was adopted.'

"It gives me no small pleasure, to find that former friendships have not been destroyed, by a difference of opinion on this great political point. It is a proof of the good dispositions, which govern the people of this country, and which, if properly improved, will make us a happy people."

*"To Catharine Macaulay Graham.*

"New York, 9 January, 790.

"MADAM,—Your obliging letter dated in October last has been received, and, as I do not know when I shall have more leisure than at present to throw together a few observations in return for yours, I take up my pen to do it by this early occasion.

"In the first place, I thank you for your congratulatory sentiments on the event, which has placed me at the head of the American government, as well as for the indulgent partiality, which, it is to be feared, may have warped your judgement too much in my favor. But you do me no more than justice in supposing, that, if I had been permitted to indulge my first and fondest wish, I should have remained in a private station.

"Although neither the present age nor posterity may possibly give me full credit for the feelings, which I have experienced on this subject, yet I have a consciousness that nothing short of an absolute conviction of duty could ever have brought me upon the scenes of public life again. The establishment of our new government seemed to be the last great experiment for promoting human happiness by a reasonable compact in civil society. It was to be in the first instance, in a considerable degree, a government of accommodation as well as a government of laws. Much was to be done by prudence, much by conciliation, much by firmness. Few, who are not philosophical spec-

tators, can realize the difficult and delicate part, which a man in my situation had to act. All see, and most admire, the glare which hovers round the external happiness of elevated office. To me there is nothing in it beyond the lustre, which may be reflected from its connexion with a power of promoting human felicity.

“In our progress towards political happiness my station is new, and, if I may use the expression, I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely an action, the motive of which may not be subject to a double interpretation. There is scarcely any part of my conduct, which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent. Under such a view of the duties inherent in my arduous office, I could not but feel a diffidence in myself on the one hand, and an anxiety for the community, that every new arrangement should be made in the best possible manner, on the other. If, after all my humble but faithful endeavors to advance the felicity of my country and mankind, I may indulge a hope, that my labors have not been altogether without success, it will be the only real compensation I can receive in the closing scenes of life.

“On the actual situation of this country under its new government, I will, in the next place, make a few remarks. That the government, though not actually perfect, is one of the best in the world, I have little doubt. I always believed, that an unequivocally free and equal representation of the people in the legislature, together with an efficient and responsible executive, was the great pillar on which the preservation of American freedom must depend. It was indeed next to a miracle, that there should have been so much unanimity in points of such importance among such a number of citizens, so widely scattered, and so different in their habits in many respects, as the Americans were. Nor are the growing unanimity and increasing good-will of the citizens to the government less remarkable, than favorable circumstances. So far as we have gone with the new government, (and it is completely organized and in operation,) we have had greater reason, than the most sanguine could expect, to be satisfied with its success.”



The manner in which Washington conducted the administration of the country was such as to increase, to a still higher point, the admiration and confidence of his fellow-citizens, and to brighten his fame throughout all nations. Here, as in his military command, there was a union of firmness, prudence, and wisdom, which placed him above the reach of all attempts to impair his influence. It is the proper province of the historian of the country to trace and delineate the measures of his administration, and the effect of them upon the condition and welfare of the country. Keeping myself within the limits of biography, I shall notice only the more prominent circumstances and events that related to him personally.

The mother of Washington lived to witness the consummation of the glory of her son, and to receive a full reward for the faithful care with which she had watched over the formation of his character. She expired during the first year of his Presidency, on the 25th of August, 1789, in the eighty-third year of her age. He thus speaks of her death, in a letter to his sister :

“ Awful and affecting as the death of a parent is, there is consolation in knowing, that Heaven has spared ours to an age beyond which few attain, and favored her with the full enjoyment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily strength as usually falls to the lot of fourscore. Under these considerations, and a hope that she is translated to a happier place, it is the duty of her relatives to yield due submission to the decrees of the Creator. When I was last at Fredericksburg, I took a final leave of my mother, never expecting to see her more.”

Congress having adjourned from the 29th of September to the 1st of January, the President availed himself of the opportunity to visit the Eastern States, travelling as far as Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and returning to New York by a different route. Every where he was the object of all the attentions and honors which a grateful and admiring people could confer.

Several letters from Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Warren, of Plymouth, Massachusetts, have already been introduced into this work. The correspondence was kept up,

from time to time. The following letter, written four years before Washington's visit to the eastern States, will be read with interest.

“Mount Vernon, June the 9th, 1785.

“MY DEAR MADAM,—I had the pleasure to receive your obliging letter, of the 14th of April, by Mrs. Macaulay Graham, the kind expressions of which, added to the recollection of those days, in which you honored me with your friendship, fill me with agreeable sensations, and will ever be dear to my remembrance.

“I thank you for introducing a lady, so well known in the literary world, as Mrs. Macaulay Graham, whose agreeable company we have had the pleasure of, a few days. She now returns, to make happy those whom she left.

“The friendship, which subsisted between General Warren and Mr. Washington, will never be forgotten by the latter ; it was among the first formed, and most lasting, at Cambridge ; and, with equal pleasure, would be renewed by him. Why it has slept, the General cannot tell. He recollects writing a long letter to General Warren, in the year 1779, when the army were cantoned on the Raritan, near Bound Brook, in the Jerseys. Since which, all intercourse, by letter, has ceased ; though friendship is the same.

“He joins me, in every good wish for you and General Warren ; and begs me to add the strongest assurances of the sincere esteem and regard he has for you both. With sentiments of friendship and affection, I am, dear madam, &c.

M. WASHINGTON.”

After President Washington's return to New York, from his tour to the North and East, Mrs. Washington expressed, in the following letter, the gratification and the benefit he had derived from his journey. It also presents a delightful view of her feelings and character.

“New York, December the 26th, 1789.

“MY DEAR MADAM,—Your very friendly letter, of the 27th of last month, has afforded me much more satisfaction, than all the formal compliments and empty ceremonies of mere etiquette could possibly have done. I

am not apt to forget the feelings that have been inspired by my former society with good acquaintances, nor to be insensible to their expressions of gratitude to the President of the United States; for you know me well enough, to do me the justice to believe, that I am only fond of what comes from the heart. Under a conviction, that the demonstrations of respect and affection, which have been made to the President, originate from that source, I cannot deny, that I have taken some interest and pleasure in them. The difficulties which presented themselves to view, upon his first entering upon the Presidency, seem thus to be, in some measure, surmounted. It is owing to this kindness of our numerous friends, in all quarters, that my new and unwished-for situation is not indeed a burden to me. When I was much younger, I should probably have enjoyed the innocent gayeties of life, as much as most of my age. But I had long since placed all the prospects of my future worldly happiness in the still enjoyments of the fireside at Mount Vernon.

“ I little thought, when the war was finished, that any circumstances could possibly have happened, which would call the General into public life again. I had anticipated that, from this moment, we should have been left to grow old, in solitude and tranquillity, together. That was, my dear madam, the first and dearest wish of my heart ; but in *that* I have been disappointed. I will not, however, contemplate, with too much regret, disappointments that were inevitable. Though the General’s feelings and my own were perfectly in unison, with respect to our predilection for private life, yet I cannot blame him, for having acted according to his ideas of duty, in obeying the voice of his country. The consciousness of having attempted to do all the good in his power, and the pleasure of finding his fellow-citizens so well satisfied with the disinterestedness of his conduct, will doubtless be some compensation for the great sacrifices, which I know he has made. Indeed, in his journey from Mount Vernon to this place ; in his late tour through the eastern States, by every public and by every private information which has come to him, I am persuaded, that he has experienced nothing to make him repent his having acted from what

he conceived to be, alone, a sense of indispensable duty. On the contrary, all his sensibility has been awakened, in receiving such repeated and unequivocal proofs of sincere regards, from all his countrymen.

“With respect to myself, I sometimes think the arrangement is not quite as it ought to have been ; that I, who had much rather be at home, should occupy a place, with which a great many younger and gayer women would be prodigiously pleased. As my grandchildren and domestic connexions make up a great portion of the felicity which I looked for, in this world, I shall hardly be able to find any substitute, that would indemnify me for the loss of a part of such endearing society. I do not say this, because I feel dissatisfied with my present station. No, God forbid ! For every body and every thing conspire to make me as contented as possible in it ; yet I have seen too much of the vanity of human affairs, to expect felicity from the splendid scenes of public life. I am still determined to be cheerful and to be happy, in whatever situation I may be ; for I have also learnt, from experience, that the greater part of our happiness or misery depends upon our dispositions, and not upon our circumstances. We carry the seeds of the one or the other about with us, in our minds, wheresoever we go. I have two of my grandchildren with me, who enjoy advantages in point of education, and who, I trust, by the goodness of Providence, will continue to be a great blessing to me. My other two grandchildren are with their mother, in Virginia.

“The President’s health is quite re-established, by his late journey. Mine is much better than it used to be. I am sorry to hear that General Warren has been ill ; hope, before this time, that he may be entirely recovered. We should rejoice to see you both. To both, I wish the best of Heaven’s blessings ; and am, my dear Madam, with esteem and regard, your friend and humble servant,

“M. WASHINGTON.”

In the spring of 1790, the union of the States was consummated, by the adoption of the Constitution, on the part of Rhode Island. Washington expressed his satisfaction

on the occurrence in the following letter to the Governor of that State.

*" To Arthur Fenner, Governor of Rhode Island.*

*" New York, 4 June, 1790.*

" SIR,—In acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 29th of May, I cannot forbear to congratulate you and the people of your State upon the happy event, which has since taken place by the adoption and ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the Convention of Rhode Island.

" Having now attained the desirable object of uniting under one general government all those States, which were originally confederated, we have a right to expect, with the blessing of a Divine Providence, that our country will afford us all those domestic enjoyments, of which a free people only can boast; and at the same time secure that respectability abroad, which she is entitled to by Nature and from circumstances. Since the bond of union is now complete, and we once more consider ourselves as one family, it is much to be hoped, that reproaches will cease and prejudices be done away; for we should all remember, that we are members of that community, upon whose general success depends our particular and individual welfare; and, therefore, if we mean to support the liberty and independence, which it has cost us so much blood and treasure to establish, we must drive far away the demon of party spirit and local reproach.

" I should be deficient in politeness, as well as sensibility, were I to close this letter without acknowledging the impression, which the great personal regard and warm wishes for my individual felicity, expressed in your letter, have made on me. I have the honor to be, &c."

The following extracts present an interesting picture of the manner in which Washington received visitors, and discharged the offices of personal civility and social etiquette, while in the Presidency. It will give the reader some idea of the toils and fatigues, of a nature unknown

to the world at large, to which his office exposed him. It also shows that the same vexations, and complaints, and discontents, which have ever since existed, even then assailed the administration of the country.

“ That Congress does not proceed with all that despatch, which people at a distance expect, and which, were they to hurry business, they possibly might, is not to be denied. That measures have been agitated, which are not pleasing to Virginia, and others, pleasing perhaps to her, but not to some other States, is equally unquestionable. Can it well be otherwise in a country so extensive, so diversified in its interests ? And will not these different interests naturally produce, in an assembly of representatives, who are to legislate for and to assimilate and reconcile them to the *general* welfare, long, warm, and animated debates ? Most assuredly they will ; and if there was the same propensity in mankind for investigating the motives, as there is for censuring the conduct of public characters, it would be found, that the censure so freely bestowed is oftentimes unmerited and uncharitable. For instance, the condemnation of Congress for sitting only four hours in the day. The fact is, by the established rules of the House of Representatives, no committee can sit whilst the House is sitting ; and this is, and has been for a considerable time, from ten o'clock in the forenoon until three, often later, in the afternoon ; before and after which the business is going on in committees. If this application is not as much as most constitutions are equal to, I am mistaken.

“ Many other things, which undergo malignant constructions, would be found, upon a candid examination, to wear a better face than is given to them. The misfortune is, that the enemies to the government, always more active than its friends, and always upon the watch to give it a stroke, neglect no opportunity to aim one. If they tell truth, it is not the whole truth, by which means one side only of the picture is exhibited ; whereas, if both sides were seen, it might and probably would assume a different form, in the opinion of just and candid men,

who are disposed to measure matters by a Continental scale.

"I do not mean, however, from what I have here said, to justify the conduct of Congress in all its movements ; for some of these movements, in my opinion, have been injudicious, and others unseasonable ; whilst the questions of assumption, residence, and other matters have been agitated with a warmth and intemperance, with prolixity and threats, which it is to be feared have lessened the dignity of that body, and decreased that respect, which was once entertained for it. And this misfortune is increased by many members, even among those who wish well to the government, ascribing, in letters to their respective States, when they are defeated in a favorite measure, the worst motives for the conduct of their opponents ; who, viewing matters through another medium, may and do retort in their turn, by which means jealousies and distrusts are spread most impolitically far and wide, and will, it is to be feared, have a most unhappy tendency to injure our public affairs, which, if wisely managed, might make us, as we are now by Europeans thought to be, the happiest people upon earth."

"In a letter of last year, to the best of my recollection, I informed you of the motives, which *compelled* me to allot a day for the reception of idle and ceremonious visits ; (for it never has prevented those of sociability and friendship in the afternoon, or at any other time ;) but, if I am mistaken in this, the history of this business is simply and shortly as follows. Before the custom was established, which now accommodates foreign characters, strangers, and others, who, from motives of curiosity, respect to the Chief Magistrate, or any other cause, are induced to call upon me, I was unable to attend to any business whatsoever ; for gentlemen, consulting their own convenience rather than mine, were calling from the time I rose from breakfast, often before, until I sat down to dinner. This, as I resolved not to neglect my public duties, reduced me to the choice of one of these alternatives, either to refuse them altogether, or to appropriate

a time for the reception of them. The former would, I well knew, be disgusting to many ; the latter I expected would undergo animadversion and blazoning from those, who would find fault, *with* or *without* cause. To please every body was impossible. I therefore adopted that line of conduct, which combined public advantage with private convenience, and which, in my judgement, was unexceptionable in itself. That I have not been able to make bows to the taste of poor Colonel B. (who, by the by, I believe never saw one of them) is to be regretted, especially, too, as upon those occasions, they were indiscriminately bestowed, and the best I was master of. Would it not have been better to throw the veil of charity over them, ascribing their stiffness to the effects of age, or to the unskilfulness of my teacher, rather than to pride and dignity of office, which, God knows, has no charms for me ? For I can truly say, I had rather be at Mount Vernon with a friend or two about me, than to be attended at the seat of government by the officers of state and the representatives of every power in Europe.

“ These visits are optional. They are made without invitation. Between the hours of three and four every Tuesday I am prepared to receive them. Gentlemen, often in great numbers, come and go, chat with each other, and act as they please. A porter shows them into the room, and they retire from it when they please, and without ceremony. At their first entrance, they salute me, and I them, and as many as I can talk to, I do. What pomp there is in all this, I am unable to discover. Perhaps it consists in not sitting. To this, two reasons are opposed ; first, it is unusual ; secondly, which is a more substantial one, because I have no room large enough to contain a third of the chairs, which would be sufficient to admit it. If it is supposed, that ostentation, or the fashions of courts, (which, by the by, I believe originate oftener in convenience, not to say necessity, than is generally imagined,) gave rise to this custom, I will boldly affirm, that no supposition was ever more erroneous ; for, if I were to give indulgence to my inclinations, every moment that I could withdraw from the fatigue of my



station should be spent in retirement. That it is not, proceeds from the sense I entertain of the propriety of giving to every one as free access, as consists with that respect, which is due to the chair of government; and that respect, I conceive, is neither to be acquired nor preserved but by observing a just medium between much state and too great familiarity.

“Similar to the above, but of a more sociable kind, are the visits every Friday afternoon to Mrs. Washington, where I always am. These public meetings, and a dinner once a week to as many as my table will hold, with the references to and from the different departments of state, and other communications with all parts of the Union, are as much, if not more, than I am able to undergo; for I have already had, within less than a year, two severe attacks, the last worse than the first. A third, more than probably, will put me to sleep with my fathers. At what distance this may be I know not. Within the last twelve months I have undergone more and severer sickness, than thirty preceding years afflicted me with. I have abundant reason, however, to be thankful, that I am so well recovered; though I still feel the remains of the violent affection of my lungs; the cough, pain in my breast, and shortness of breathing not having entirely left me. I propose in the recess of Congress to visit Mount Vernon; but when this recess will happen is beyond my ken, or the ken, I believe, of any of its members.

“I am, dear sir, &c.”

It is seen from the foregoing letter, that some unreflecting persons had censured the ceremonies and forms, which the necessities of his situation required Washington to adopt. The opponents of the Constitution made this, indeed, the principal ground of attack upon the new government. They availed themselves of every opportunity to direct the popular prejudice and suspicion against it, as tending towards a monarchy; and the rules Washington was obliged to adopt, for the reception of visitors, were misrepresented, or misunderstood, as indicative of a propensity, on the part of the federal Chief Magistrate,

to fall into an imitation of the sentiments and usages of royal courts.

The manner of living observed by President Washington, has been further described, in the following speech, delivered by Mr. Stuyvesant, the President of the New York Historical Society, at the dinner on the occasion of the Jubilee celebration, in the city of New York, April 30th, 1839.

“ It cannot be expected, at this time and place, any allusion should be made to the public character of Washington ; we are all in possession of his history, from the dawn of life to the day that Mount Vernon was wrapped in sable ; and, after the exercises of this morning, if any attempt to portray his political or military life were made, it would only be the glimmering light of a feeble star succeeding the rays of a meridian sun.

“ But the occasion affords an opportunity of congratulating the small number of gentlemen present, who enjoyed the privilege of participating in the ceremonies of the 30th of April, 1789 ; they will recall to their memories the spontaneous effusions of joy that pervaded the breasts of the people, who, on that occasion, witnessed the organization of a constitutional government, formed by intelligent freemen, and consummated by placing at its head the man in whom their affections were concentrated as the father of their country.

“ Washington’s residence in this city, after his inauguration, was limited to about two years. His deportment in life was not plain, nor was it at all pompous, for no man was more devoid of ostentation than himself ; his style, however, gave universal satisfaction to all classes in the community ; and, his historian has informed us, was not adopted for personal gratification, but from a devotion to his country’s welfare. Possessing a desirable stature, an erect frame, and, superadded, a lofty and sublime countenance, he never appeared in public without arresting the reverence and admiration of the beholder ; and the stranger who had never before seen him, was at the first impression convinced it was the President who delighted him.

“ He seldom walked in the street ; his public recrea-

tion was in riding. When accompanied by Mrs. Washington, he rode in a carriage drawn by six horses, with two outriders, who wore rich livery, cocked hats, with cockades and powder. When he rode on horseback, he was joined by one or more of the gentlemen of his family, and attended by his outriders. He always attended divine service on Sundays ; his carriage on those occasions contained Mrs. Washington and himself, with one or both of their grandchildren, and was drawn by two horses, with two footmen behind ; it was succeeded by a post-chaise, accommodating two gentlemen of his household. On his arrival in the city, the only residence that could be procured was a house in Cherry-street, long known as the mansion of the Franklin family ; but in a short time afterward he removed to and occupied the house in Broadway, now Bunker's Hotel.

“ Washington held a levee once a week, and, from what is now recollected, they were generally well attended, but confined to men in public life and gentlemen of leisure ; for, at that day, it would have been thought a breach of decorum to visit the President of the United States in dishabille.

“ The arrival of Washington, in 1789, to assume the reins of government, was not his first entry into this city, accompanied with honor to himself and glory to this country. This was on the 24th of November, 1783 ; and here, again, I must observe, the number present who witnessed the ceremonies of that day, must, indeed, be very limited ; on that day he made his triumphal entry, not to sway the sceptre, but to lay down his sword ; not for personal aggrandizement, but to secure the happiness of his countrymen. He early in the morning left Haerlem, and entered the city through what is now called the Bowery ; he was escorted by cavalry and infantry, and a large concourse of citizens, on horseback and on foot, in plain dress. The latter must have been an interesting sight to those of mature age who were capable of comprehending their merit. In their ranks were seen men with patched elbows, odd buttons on their coats, and unmatched buckles in their shoes ; they were not, indeed, Falstaff's

company of scarecrows, but the most respectable citizens, who had been in exile, and endured privations we know not of, for seven long and tedious years.

“On that occasion, and on his arrival in 1789, Washington was received, as is well known, by the elder Clinton, who was at both periods Governor of the State.”

In reference to this subject, of the ceremonial and manner of living to be observed by the President of the United States, Washington, in the exercise of his invariable caution, wisdom, and regard for the judgement of others, early sought the advice of several of the principal characters of the country. The following letter to Madison is among his published writings.

“*To James Madison.*”

“New York, 12 May, 1789.

“MY DEAR SIR,—To draw such a line for the conduct of the President as will please every body, I know is impossible ; but to mark out and follow one, which, by being consonant with reason, will meet general approbation, may be as practicable as it is desirable. The true medium I conceive must lie in pursuing such a course, as will allow him time for all the official duties of his station. This should be the primary object. The next, to avoid as much as may be the charge of superciliousness, and seclusion from information, by too much reserve and too great a withdrawal of himself from company on the one hand, and the inconveniences, as well as a diminution of respectability, from too free an intercourse and too much familiarity on the other.

“Under these impressions I have submitted the enclosed queries to your consideration, and would thank you for your sentiments thereon, with the return of the paper. For the remarks which it contains it is necessary that some plan should be adopted by the President for his mode of living, that the pecuniary estimates for the department may have an eye thereto ; and, though secondary, it is a motive for my bringing the matter before you at this time.

“I am your affectionate friend, &c.”

The queries communicated with this letter were also submitted to Mr. Jay, Mr. Hamilton, and the Vice President, John Adams. They were as follows :

“**QUERIES.**

“ 1. Whether a line of conduct, equally distant from an association with all kinds of company on the one hand, and from a total seclusion from society on the other, ought to be adopted by him ? And in that case, how is it to be done ?

“ 2. What will be the least exceptionable method of bringing any system, which may be adopted on this subject, before the public and into use ?

“ 3. Whether, after a little time, one day in every week will not be sufficient for receiving visits of compliment ?

“ 4. Whether it would tend to prompt impertinent applications, and involve disagreeable consequences, to have it known that the President will, every morning at eight o'clock, be at leisure to give audience to persons, who may have business with him ?

“ 5. Whether, when it shall have been understood, that the President is not to give general entertainments in the manner the presidents of Congress have formerly done, it will be practicable to draw such a line of discrimination, in regard to persons, as that six, eight, or ten official characters, including in rotation the members of both Houses of Congress, may be invited informally, or otherwise, to dine with him on the days fixed for receiving company, without exciting clamors in the rest of the community ?

“ 6. Whether it would be satisfactory to the public for the President to make about four great entertainments in a year, on such great occasions as the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the alliance with France, the peace with Great Britain, the organization of the general government ; and whether arrangements of these two last kinds could be in danger of diverting too much of the President's time from business, or of producing the evils, which it was intended to avoid by his living more

recluse than the presidents of Congress have heretofore lived ?

“7. Whether there would be any impropriety in the President’s making informal visits ; that is to say, in his calling upon his acquaintances or public characters, for the purpose of sociability or civility ? And what, as to the form of doing it, might evince these visits to have been made in his private character, so as that they may not be construed into visits from the President of the United States ? And in what light would his appearance *rarely* at tea-parties be considered ?

“8. Whether, during the recess of Congress, it would not be advantageous to the interests of the Union for the President to make the tour of the United States, in order to become better acquainted with their principal characters and internal circumstances, as well as to be more accessible to numbers of well-informed persons, who might give him useful information and advice on political subjects ?

“9. If there is a probability, that either of the arrangements may take place, which will eventually cause additional expenses, whether it would not be proper that those ideas should come into contemplation at the time when Congress shall make a permanent provision for the support of the executive ?

“*Remarks.* On the one side, no augmentation can be effected in the pecuniary establishment, which shall be made in the first instance for the support of the executive. On the other, all moneys destined to that purpose, beyond the actual expenditures, will be left in the treasury of the United States, or sacredly applied to the promotion of some national objects.

“Many things, which appear of little importance in themselves and at the beginning, may have great and durable consequences from their having been established at the commencement of a new general government. It will be much easier to commence the administration upon a well-adjusted system, built on tenable grounds, than to correct errors, or alter inconveniences, after they shall have been confirmed by habit. The President, in all

matters of business and etiquette, can have no object but to demean himself in his public character in such a manner as to maintain the dignity of his office, without subjecting himself to the imputation of superciliousness or unnecessary reserve. Under these impressions, he asks for your candid and undisguised opinion."

The only answer found among the papers of Washington is that of the Vice President, which was to this effect :

**"THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.**

"1. That an association with all kinds of company, and a total seclusion from society, are extremes, which, in the actual circumstances of this country, and under our form of government, may be properly avoided.

"2. The system of the President will gradually develop itself in practice, without any formal communication to the Legislature, or publication from the press. Paragraphs in the public prints may however appear from time to time, without any formal authority, that may lead and reconcile the public mind.

"3. Considering the number of strangers from many countries, and of citizens from various States, who will resort to the seat of government, it is doubted whether two days in a week will not be indispensable for visits of compliment. A little experience, however, will elucidate this point.

"4. Under the fourth head, it is submitted to consideration, whether all personal applications ought not to be made in the first instance to a minister of state. Yet an appeal should be open by petition to the President, who, if he judges the subject worthy of it, may admit the party to a personal interview. Access to the supreme magistrate ought not to be rigorously denied in any case that is worthy of his consideration. Nevertheless, in every case, the name, quality, and, when these are not sufficient to raise a presumption in their favor, their business, ought to be communicated to a chamberlain, or gentleman in waiting, who should judge whom to admit, and whom to exclude. Some limitation of time may be necessary, too,

as, for example, from eight to nine or ten ; for without it the whole forenoon, or the whole day, may be taken up.

“5. There is no doubt that the President may invite what official characters, members of Congress, strangers, or citizens of distinction he pleases, in small parties, without exciting clamors ; but this should always be done without formality.

“6. The entertainments mentioned in this article would much more properly be made by a minister of state for foreign or domestic affairs, or some other minister of state, or the Vice President, either of whom, upon such occasions, the President, in his private character, might honor with his presence. But in no case whatever can I conceive it proper for the President to make any formal public entertainment.

“7. There can be no impropriety in the President's making or receiving informal visits among his friends or acquaintances at his pleasure. Undress, and few attendants, will sufficiently show that such visits are made as a man and a citizen, a friend or acquaintance. But in no case whatever should a visit be made or returned in form by the President ; at least unless an Emperor of Germany, or some other sovereign, should travel to this country. The President's pleasure should absolutely decide concerning his attendance at tea-parties in a private character ; and no gentleman or lady ought ever to complain, if he never or rarely attends. The President's private life should be at his own discretion, and the world should respectfully acquiesce ; but as President he should have no intercourse with society, but upon public business, or at his levees. This distinction, it is with submission apprehended, ought to govern the whole conduct.

“8. A tour might no doubt be made with great advantage to the public, if the time can be spared ; but it will naturally be considered, as foreign affairs arrive every day, and the business of the executive and judicial departments will require constant attention, whether the President's residence will not necessarily be confined to one place.

“*Observations.* The civil list ought to provide for



the President's household. What number of chamberlains, aids-de-camp, secretaries, masters of ceremonies, &c. will become necessary, it is difficult to foresee ; but should not all such establishments be distinct from the allowance to the President for his services, which is mentioned in the Constitution ? In all events, the provision for the President and his household ought to be large and ample. The office, by its legal authority defined in the Constitution, has no equal in the world, excepting those only which are held by crowned heads ; nor is the royal authority in all cases to be compared to it. The royal office in Poland is a mere shadow in comparison with it. The Dogeship in Venice, and the Stadtholdership in Holland, are not so much. Neither dignity nor authority can be supported in human minds, collected into nations or any great numbers, without a splendor and majesty in some degree proportioned to them. The sending and receiving ambassadors is one of the most splendid and important prerogatives of sovereigns, absolute or limited ; and this, in our Constitution, is in the President. If the state and pomp essential to this great department are not preserved, it will be in vain for America to hope for consideration with foreign powers.

“ These observations are submitted, after all, with diffidence ; conscious that my long residence abroad may have impressed me with views of things incompatible with the present temper and feelings of our fellow-citizens ; and with a perfect disposition to acquiesce in whatever may be the result of the superior wisdom of the President.”

The following admirable letter, from Mrs. Washington to Mrs. General Warren, presents some interesting particulars, and cannot but be read with the liveliest satisfaction. It shows, as indeed does every memorial and recollection that remains of her, that she was an excellent and lovely woman, and, in all respects, worthy to share with Washington, the respect and affection of her country, and of the world.

“ New York, June the 12th, 1790.

“ MY DEAR MADAM,—I ought to apologize for the interval that has passed, between the receipt and acknowledgement of your obliging letter, written in March last ; but I hardly know what apology will be sufficient, to excuse the apparent, though unintentional, neglect. I believe the truth is always the best ground for an apology, on such occasions. Though I may not have a great deal of business of consequence to do, yet I have a great many avocations, of one kind or another, which imperceptibly consume my time. And I know not, whether one's reluctance to writing much does not increase with one's years. The severe illness with which the President was attacked, some weeks ago, absorbed every other consideration, in my care and anxiety for him. These reasons, I trust, will have their due weight in your candid mind. During the President's sickness, the kindness which every body manifested, and the interest which was universally taken in his fate, were really very affecting to me. He seemed less concerned himself, as to the event, than perhaps almost any other person in the United States. Happily, he is now perfectly recovered, and I am restored to my ordinary state of tranquillity, and usually good flow of spirits. For my part, I continue to be as happy, here, as I could be at any place, except Mount Vernon. In truth, I should be very ungrateful, if I did not acknowledge, that every thing has been done, which politeness, hospitality, or friendship, could suggest, to make my situation as satisfactory and agreeable as possible. My grandchildren have, likewise, good opportunities for acquiring an useful and accomplished education. In their happiness, my own is, in a great measure, involved. But for the ties of affection, which attract me, so strongly, to my near connexions and worthy friends, I should feel myself, indeed, much weaned from all enjoyments of this transitory life.

“ If Congress should have a recess, this summer, (as it is expected will be the case,) I hope to go home to Mount Vernon, for a few months ; and from that expecta-

tion I already derive much comfort ; especially, as I believe the exercise, relaxation, and amusement, to be expected from such a journey, will tend very much to confirm the President's health. This is also the opinion of all his physicians.

“ In passing down the vale of time, and in journeying through such a mutable world as that in which we are placed, we must expect to meet with a great and continued mixture of afflictions and blessings. This is a mingled cup, which an overruling Providence undoubtedly dispenses to us, for the wisest and best of purposes. And, as you justly observe, shall we, short-sighted mortals, dare to arraign the decrees of eternal wisdom ? That you and yours may always be under the kind protection and guardianship of that Providence, is the sincere wish of, dear Madam, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

“ M. WASHINGTON.”

In the spring of 1791, the President made a tour to the southern States, going as far as Savannah, and returning by a different route. The same testimonials of public affection were given, on this occasion, as in his northern and eastern tour, the year before.

From the following passage, in a letter from Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Warren, dated March 2d, 1791, it seems that she remained behind, in Philadelphia, while the President was on his southern tour. Mrs. Washington had, shortly before, made a visit to Mount Vernon, which seems to have been endeared to her and to her husband, with a strength of attachment, such as seldom has bound the human heart to any particular spot. It is indeed, a lovely scene ; and it afforded to Washington and his wife, every thing that can make a retreat from the public world delightful. At this particular time, however, Mrs. Washington was under the necessity of denying herself the still and peaceful enjoyments of Mount Vernon, for the reasons which she thus states to Mrs. Warren. Speaking of the President's tour to the South, she says :

“ My accompanying him, in such a long journey, is out of the question ; and, indeed, I hardly think I shall leave Philadelphia, during the summer, for my great object now is, to give to my little grandson and my youngest granddaughter, who have always lived with me, all the advantages, in respect to their education, this country can afford ; and, as they now are placed at excellent schools, here, and have their several instructors to attend them, and appear to be making good progress in their learning, it would be unpardonable in me, to interrupt their course, by taking them on a visit to Virginia ; and to go without them, I cannot.”

As the time approached, when electors of President and Vice President were again to be appointed in the several States, Washington was urged to allow his name to be used, for a second term of four years. Jefferson, Hamilton, and Edmund Randolph, severally addressed to him the most solemn and earnest entreaties to that effect.

Jefferson expressed himself as follows :

“ When you first mentioned to me your purpose of retiring from the government, though I felt all the magnitude of the event, I was in a considerable degree silent. I knew that, to such a mind as yours, persuasion was idle and impertinent ; that, before forming your decision, you had weighed all the reasons for and against the measure, had made up your mind on full view of them, and that there could be little hope of changing the result. Pursuing my reflections, too, I knew we were some day to try to walk alone ; and if the essay should be made while you should be alive and looking on, we should derive confidence from that circumstance, and resource if it failed. The public mind, too, was then calm and confident, and therefore in a favorable state for making the experiment. Had no change of circumstances supervened, I should not, with any hope of success, have now ventured to propose to you a change of purpose. But the public mind is no longer so confident and serene ; and that from causes in which you are no ways personally mixed.”

“ The confidence of the whole Union is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument, which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and south will hang together, if they have you to hang on ; and, if the first corrective of a numerous representation should fail in its effect, your presence will give time for trying others not inconsistent with the union and peace of the States.

“ I am perfectly aware of the oppression under which your present office lays your mind, and of the ardor with which you pant for retirement to domestic life. But there is sometimes an eminence of character on which society have such peculiar claims, as to control the predilection of the individual for a particular walk of happiness, and restrain him to that alone arising from the present and future benedictions of mankind. This seems to be your condition, and the law imposed on you by Providence in forming your character, and fashioning the events on which it was to operate ; and it is to motives like these, and not to personal anxieties of mine or others, who have no right to call on you for sacrifices, that I appeal from your former determination, and urge a revisal of it, on the ground of change in the aspect of things. Should an honest majority result from the new and enlarged representation, should those acquiesce, whose principles or interests they may control, your wishes for retirement would be gratified with less danger, as soon as that shall be manifest, without awaiting the completion of the second period of four years. One or two sessions will determine the crisis ; and I cannot but hope, that you can resolve to add one or two more to the many years you have already sacrificed to the good of mankind.

“ The fear of suspicion, that any selfish motive of continuance in office may enter into this solicitation on my part, obliges me to declare, that no such motive exists. It is a thing of mere indifference to the public, whether I retain or relinquish my purpose of closing my tour with the first periodical renovation of the government. I know

my own measure too well to suppose, that my services contribute any thing to the public confidence or the public utility. Multitudes can fill the office, in which you have been pleased to place me, as much to their advantage and satisfaction. I, therefore, have no motive to consult but my own inclination, which is bent irresistibly on the tranquil enjoyment of my family, my farm, and my books. I should repose among them, it is true, in far greater security, if I were to know that you remained at the watch, and I hope it will be so. To the inducements urged from a view of our domestic affairs, I will add a bare mention of what indeed need only be mentioned, that weighty motives for your continuance are to be found in our foreign affairs. I think it probable that both the Spanish and English negotiations, if not completed before your purpose is known, will be suspended from the moment it is known, and that the latter nation will then use double diligence in fomenting the Indian war.

"With my wishes for the future, I shall at the same time express my gratitude for the past, at least my portion in it; and beg permission to follow you, whether in public or private life, with those sentiments of sincere attachment and respect with which I am unalterably, dear sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

#### Extracts from Hamilton's Letter :

"SIR,—I received the most sincere pleasure at finding, in our last conversation, that there was some relaxation in the disposition you had before discovered to decline a re-election. Since your departure, I have lost no opportunity of sounding the opinions of persons, whose opinions were worth knowing, on these two points; first, the effect of your declining upon the public affairs, and upon your own reputation; secondly, the effect of your continuing, in reference to the declarations you have made of your disinclination to public life. And I can truly say, that I have not found the least difference of sentiment on either point. The impression is uniform, that your declining would be to be deplored as the greatest evil that could befall the country at the present juncture, and as

critically hazardous to your own reputation ; that your continuance will be justified in the mind of every friend to his country by the evident necessity for it.

“ It is clear, says every one with whom I have conversed, that the affairs of the national government are not yet firmly established ; that its enemies, generally speaking, are as inveterate as ever ; that their enmity has been sharpened by its success, and by all the resentments, which flow from disappointed predictions and mortified vanity ; that a general and strenuous effort is making in every State to place the administration of it in the hands of its enemies, as if they were its safest guardians ; that the period of the next House of Representatives is likely to prove the crisis of its permanent character ; that, if you continue in office, nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended ; if you quit, much is to be dreaded ; that the same motives which induced you to accept originally ought to decide you to continue till matters have assumed a more determinate aspect ; that indeed it would have been better, as it regards your own character, that you had never consented to come forward, than now to leave the business unfinished and in danger of being undone ; that, in the event of storms arising, there would be an imputation either of want of foresight or want of firmness ; and, in fine, that on public and personal accounts, on patriotic and prudential considerations, the clear path to be pursued by you will be again to obey the voice of your country ; which it is not doubted will be as earnest and as unanimous as ever.”

“ I trust, sir, and I pray God, that you will determine to make a further sacrifice of your tranquillity and happiness to the public good. I trust, that it need not continue above a year or two more. And I think, that it will be more eligible to retire from office before the expiration of the term of election, than to decline a re-election.

“ The sentiments I have delivered upon this occasion, I can truly say, proceed exclusively from an anxious concern for the public welfare and an affectionate personal attachment. These dispositions must continue to govern

in every vicissitude one, who has the honor to be, very truly and respectfully, sir, yours, &c.

“ALEXANDER HAMILTON.”

Mr. Randolph wrote as follows :

“DEAR SIR,—I have persuaded myself that this letter, though unconnected with any official relation, and upon a subject, to the decision of which you alone are competent, will be received in the spirit with which it is written. The Union, for the sake of which I have encountered various embarrassments, not wholly unknown to you, and sacrificed some opinions, which, but for its jeopardy, I should never have surrendered, seems to me to be, now, at the eve of a crisis. It is feared by those, who take a serious interest in the affairs of the United States, that you will refuse the chair of government, at the approaching election. If such an event must happen, indulge me, at least, in the liberty of opening to you a course of thought, which a calm attention to the Federal Government has suggested, and no bias of party has influenced.

“It cannot have escaped you, that divisions are formed in our politics, as systematic as those, which prevail in Great Britain. Such as opposed the Constitution, from a hatred to the Union, can never be conciliated by any overture or atonement. By others, it is meditated to push the construction of Federal powers to every tenable extreme. A third class, republican in principle, and, thus far, in my judgement, happy in their discernment of our welfare, have, notwithstanding, mingled with their doctrines a fatal error, that the State Assemblies are to be resorted to, as the engines of correction to the Federal Administration. The honors belonging to the chief magistracy are objects of no common solicitude to a few, who compose a fourth denomination.

“The fuel, which has been already gathered for combustion, wants no addition. But how awfully might it be increased, were the violence, which is now suspended by a universal submission to your pretensions, let loose by your resignation. Permit me, then,



in the fervor of a dutiful and affectionate attachment to you, to beseech you to penetrate the consequences of a dereliction of the reins. The Constitution would never have been adopted, but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it. It is in a state of probation. The most inauspicious struggles are past, but the public deliberations need stability. You alone can give them stability. You suffered yourself to yield when the voice of your country summoned you to the administration. Should a civil war arise, you cannot stay at home. And how much easier will it be to disperse the factions, which are rushing to this catastrophe, than to subdue them after they shall appear in arms? It is the fixed opinion of the world, that you surrender nothing incomplete.

“I am not unapprized of many disagreeable sensations, which have labored in your breast. But, let them spring from any cause whatsoever, of one thing I think I am sure, (and I speak this from a satisfactory inquiry lately made,) that, if a second opportunity shall be given to the people of showing their gratitude, they will not be less unanimous than before.

“I have the honor to be, dear sir, with the most respectful affection, your obliged, obedient servant,

“EDMUND RANDOLPH.”

“*To Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General.*

“Private.

“Mount Vernon, 26 August, 1792.

“MY DEAR SIR,—The purpose of this letter is merely to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 5th and 13th instant, and to thank you for the information contained in both, without entering into the details of either.

“With respect, however, to the interesting subject treated in that of the 5th, I can express but one sentiment at this time, and that is a wish, a devout one, that, whatever my ultimate determination shall be, it may be for the best. The subject never recurs to my mind but with additional poignancy; and, from the declining state of the health of my nephew, to whom my concerns of a domes-

tic and private nature are intrusted, it comes with aggravated force. But as the All-wise Disposer of events has hitherto watched over my steps, I trust, that, in the important one I may soon be called upon to take, He will mark the course so plainly as that I cannot mistake the way. In full hope of this, I will take no measures for the present, that will not leave me at liberty to decide from circumstances, and the best lights I can obtain on the subject.

"I shall be happy, in the mean time, to see a cessation of the abuses of public officers, and of almost every measure of government, with which some of the gazettes are so strongly impregnated ; and which cannot fail, if persevered in with the malignancy with which they now teem, of rending the Union asunder. The seeds of discontent, distrust, and irritation, which are so plentifully sown, can scarcely fail to produce this effect, and to mar that prospect of happiness, which perhaps never beamed with more effulgence upon any people under the sun ; and this too at a time, when all Europe is gazing with admiration at the brightness of our prospects. And for what is all this ? Among other things, to afford nuts for our transatlantic (what shall I call them ?) foes.

"In a word, if government and the officers of it are to be the constant theme for newspaper abuse, and this too without condescending to investigate the motives or the facts, it will be impossible, I conceive, for any man living, to manage the helm or to keep the machine together. But I am running from my text, and therefore will only add assurances of the affectionate esteem and regard, with which I am, &c."

So strong were the representations made to him, by these and other correspondents, and in various modes of appeal, and so decisive were the indications of the existence of a conviction throughout the nation that the helm of state could not yet be intrusted to any other hand, that he once more consented to forego his own comfort, and sacrifice his private and domestic enjoyment, in obedience to the voice of his country. He was unanimously

re-elected, and, on the 4th of March, 1793, was again inaugurated.

The representations which were addressed to Washington, to induce him to serve a second term, were not overstated. It was of the most momentous importance, in its consequences, to this country, that he continued in office. The agitation produced in Europe, by the French Revolution, had begun to reach America, and before long parties and passions were raised and inflamed throughout the United States, connected with the convulsions which were shaking the Old World to its centre, which parties and passions, had it not been for the firm hand and mighty influence of Washington, at the head of the government, would in all human probability have scattered the Union into fragments, and destroyed all the bright prospects of America. It will be a delightful task for the historian of the United States, to describe the admirable and almost superhuman calmness and firmness, with which he guided the country through the dangers that beset its path. His dignified resistance to both French and British encroachment and dictation, his intrepid defiance of the power of foreign and domestic foes, and his immovable disregard of popular clamor, were manifestations of the same noble and heroic character which had shone through the trying and glorious scenes of his earlier and middle life. The stand which he made against the House of Representatives, relative to Jay's Treaty, required and manifested the same heroism and wisdom, which, on a different field, were displayed throughout the Revolutionary War. And the result of his whole administration was such as to command the same admiration, from every one who explores it, with which his conduct in all the other scenes of his glorious life is regarded. As, at the head of the armies of America, he secured her independence ; so, in his discharge of the Chief Magistracy of the new-born nation, he laid deep and broad the foundations of her prosperity, in the principles of justice, in reference to her own citizens, and all foreign states ; the only principles by which the peace, power, and happiness

of this or any other country can be maintained and perpetuated.\*

In the pursuance of the plan of this memoir, I shall now proceed to make Washington describe for himself the views and sentiments which, in reference to the most interesting topics, occupied his mind, from time to time, during the period of his second term in the Presidency.

*“ To David Humphreys.*

*“ Philadelphia, 23 March, 1793.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,—Closely engaged in the business incident to my office during the session of Congress, and as closely engaged since in making arrangements for carrying into effect the laws then passed, and in discharging other public duties, I have not till this moment found myself enough at leisure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d of July ; and, being now on the eve of setting out for Mount Vernon, I shall be able to do but little more than barely acknowledge the receipt of it, and of your favors of the 23d of January and 8th of February, both of which have reached my hands within these few days.”

“ If it can be esteemed a happiness to live in an age productive of great and interesting events, we of the present age are very highly favored. The rapidity of national revolutions appears no less astonishing, than their magnitude. In what they will terminate is known only to the Great Ruler of events ; and, confiding in his wisdom and goodness, we may safely trust the issue to Him, without perplexing ourselves to seek for that, which is beyond human ken ; only taking care to perform the parts assigned to us, in a way that reason and our own consciences approve.”

“ For myself, you see me again entering upon the arduous duties of an important office, to which the unanimous voice of my country has once more called me. To

\* For a philosophical and eloquent analysis of the great principles and results of Washington's administration, see ' Discourse on the Jubilee of the Constitution,' delivered at New York, April 30th, 1839, by John Quincy Adams.

you, who know my love of retirement and domestic life, it is unnecessary to say, that, in accepting this reappointment, I relinquish those personal enjoyments to which I am peculiarly attached. The motives, which induced my acceptance, are the same which have ever ruled my decision, when the public desire, or, as my countrymen are pleased to denominate it, the *public good*, was placed in the scale against my personal enjoyment or private interest. The latter I have ever considered as subservient to the former; and perhaps in no instance of my life have I been more sensible of the sacrifice than in the present; for at my age the love of retirement grows every day more and more powerful, and the death of my nephew will, I apprehend, cause my private concerns to suffer very much. This melancholy event took place on the 5th of last month, at Colonel Bassett's, where he had gone, hoping to benefit from a change of air and situation. Although it had been long expected, and indeed to me of late appeared inevitable, yet I have felt it very keenly."

*"To the Earl of Buchan.*

*"Philadelphia, 22 April, 1793.*

"MY LORD,—The favorable wishes, which your lordship has expressed for the prosperity of this young and rising country, cannot but be gratefully received by all its citizens and every lover of it. One means to the attainment of which, and its happiness, is very judiciously portrayed in the following words of your letter, 'To be little heard of in the great world of politics.' These words, I can assure your lordship, are expressive of my sentiments on this head; and I believe it is the sincere wish of United America to have nothing to do with the political intrigues, or the squabbles, of European nations; but, on the contrary, to exchange commodities and live in peace and amity with all the inhabitants of the earth. And this I am persuaded they will do, if rightfully it can be done. To administer justice to, and receive it from, every power with whom they are connected, will, I hope, be always found the most prominent feature in the administration of this country; and I flatter myself, that

nothing short of imperious necessity can occasion a breach with any of them. Under such a system, if we are allowed to pursue it, the agriculture and mechanical arts, the wealth and population, of these States will increase with such a degree of rapidity as to baffle all calculation, and must surpass any idea your lordship can hitherto have entertained.

“The family of Fairfax in Virginia, of which you speak, is also related to me by several marriages before it came to this country, as I am informed, and since ; and what remain of the old stock are near neighbors to my estate of Mount Vernon. The late Lord, Thomas Fairfax, with whom I was perfectly acquainted, lived at the distance of sixty miles from me, after he had removed from Belvoir, the seat of his kinsman, which adjoins my estate just mentioned, and is going to be inhabited by a young member of the family as soon as the house, which was some years ago burnt down, can be rebuilt. With great esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, &c.”

“*To Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia.*”

“Private.

“Philadelphia, 21 July, 1793.

“DEAR SIR,—I should have thanked you at an earlier period for your obliging letter of the 14th ultimo, had it not come to my hands a day or two only before I set out for Mount Vernon, and at a time when I was much hurried, and, indeed, very much perplexed, with the disputes, memorials, and what not, with which the government were pestered by one or the other of the petulant representatives of the powers at war, and because, since my return to this city, nine days ago, I have been more than ever overwhelmed with their complaints. In a word, the trouble they give is hardly to be described.

“My journey to and from Mount Vernon was rapid, and as short as I could make it. It was occasioned by the unexpected death of Mr. Whiting, my manager, at a critical season for the business with which he was intrusted. How to supply his place I know not ; of course my concerns at Mount Vernon are left as a body without a head ; but this by the by.

" The communications in your letter were pleasing and grateful ; for, although I have done no public act with which my mind upbraids me, yet it is highly satisfactory to learn, that the things which I do, of an interesting tendency to the peace and happiness of this country, are generally approved by my fellow-citizens. But, were the case otherwise, I should not be less inclined to know the sense of the people upon every matter of great public concern ; for, as I have no wish superior to that of promoting the happiness and welfare of this country, so, consequently, it is only for me to know the means to accomplish the end, if it be within the compass of my powers.

*" To Edmund Pendleton.*

*" Mount Vernon, 23 September, 1793.*

" MY DEAR SIR,—With very sincere pleasure I received your private letter of the 11th instant. This pleasure was not a little enhanced by your reiterated assurance of my still holding that place in your estimation, of which, on more occasions than one, you have given me the most flattering testimony, highly gratifying to my mind. This assurance came opportunely, as I had begun to conceive, though unable to assign a cause, that some part of my public conduct, however well-meant my endeavors, had appeared unfavorably in your eyes ; for you will please to recollect, that formerly you promised me, and I always expected, an annual letter from you. It is now, if my memory has not failed me, at least four years since I have had that pleasure.

" Sequestered you say you are from the world, and know little of what is transacting in it, but from newspapers. I regret this exceedingly. I wish you had more to do on the great theatre, and that your means of information were equal to your abilities, and the disposition I know you to possess, to judge properly of public measures. It would be better, perhaps, for that public, if it should be so ; for, be assured, we have some infamous papers, calculated to disturb the public mind, if not absolutely intended to do mischief

“ With the most scrupulous truth I can assure you, that your free and unreserved opinion, upon any public measure of importance, will always be acceptable to me, whether it respects men or measures ; and on no man do I wish it to be expressed more fully than on myself, for, as I can conscientiously declare, I have no object in view incompatible with the Constitution, and the obvious interests of this country, nor any earthly desire half so strong as that of returning to the walks of private life ; so, of consequence, I only wish, whilst I am a servant of the public, to know the will of my masters, that I may govern myself accordingly.

“ You do me no more than justice when you suppose, that, from motives of respect to the Legislature, (and I might add from my interpretation of the Constitution,) I give my signature to many bills, with which my judgement is at variance. In saying this, however, I allude to *no particular act*. From the nature of the Constitution, I must approve all the parts of a bill, or reject it *in toto*. To do the latter can only be justified upon the clear and obvious ground of propriety ; and I never had such confidence in my own faculty of judging, as to be ever tenacious of the opinions I may have imbibed in doubtful cases.

“ Mrs. Washington, who enjoys tolerable health, joins me most cordially in best wishes to you and Mrs. Pendleton. I wish you may live long, continue in good health, and end your days, as you have been wearing them away, happily and respected. Always and very affectionately yours, &c.”

“ *To Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General.*

“ Mount Vernon, 30 September, 1793.

“ DEAR SIR,—The continuation and spreading of the malignant fever, with which the city of Philadelphia is visited, together with the absence of the heads of departments therefrom, will prolong my abode at this place until about the 25th of October ; at or about which time, I shall myself, if the then state of things should render it improper for me to take my family, set out for that city, or the vicinity, say Germantown.



“ I shall be obliged to you, therefore, if you remain at your post, which I by no means wish you to do at the hazard of taking the fever, to keep me advised of the existing state of things in that quarter, and, moreover, that you would be so obliging, if it should be thought unsafe for me to go into my own house in the city at the time above mentioned, as to inquire if a tolerably convenient lodging for myself, one gentleman of my family, with three servants, and as many horses, could be had in or near Germantown. To prevent any misunderstanding of my meaning, I declare explicitly, that it is *hired lodgings only* I will go into ; for, unless such can be had, I would repair to one of the most decent inns. I have given notice to the heads of departments of these my intentions, requesting their attendance accordingly, at the time and place mentioned.

“ Have you ever examined with attention, and with an eye to the case, whether the Constitution or laws of the Union give power to the executive to change the place of the meeting of the Legislature in cases of emergency occurring in the recess ? For example, whether the spreading of the fever, which is so fatal in Philadelphia, thereby endangering the lives of the members, who might assemble there on the first Monday in December next, is a case that would come under any provision in either. If you have not, I pray you to do it, and give me the result of your opinion.

“ Mr. Jefferson, upon a superficial view of the subject when here, thought there was no power in either to do this. But the laws were not examined carefully, and the Constitution is, I believe, silent respecting it. Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes for you, Mrs. Randolph, and family. I am, dear sir, &c.”

The difficulty presented in the foregoing extract, and which Washington took such pains to settle, by the aid of the counsels of Edmund Randolph, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Madison, to each of whom he addressed a letter, requesting their opinions, was happily avoided, by the subsidence of the malignant fever in Philadelphia, before the time of the meeting of Congress.

In the following extract, Washington gives the reasons which had prevented his answering letters, applying for appointments :

“ First, because letters of this sort are so numerous, that, to give them a civil answer, would employ too much of my time. Secondly, because civil answers might be construed to mean more than was intended. And, Thirdly, coeval with my inauguration, I resolved, firmly, that no man should ever charge me, *justly*, with deception. Abundant reason I have had, to rejoice at this determination ; for I have experienced the necessity, in a variety of instances, of hardening my heart against indulgences of my warmest inclination and friendship, and, from a combination of causes, as well as mere fitness of character, to depart from first impressions and first intentions, with regard to nominations ; which has proved, most unequivocally, the propriety of the maxim I had adopted, of never committing myself, until the moment the appointment is to be made, when, from the best information I can obtain, and a full view of circumstances, my judgement is formed.”

On the last day of December, 1793, Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of Secretary of State, and was succeeded by Edmund Randolph, then Attorney General. The following letters show the circumstances connected with Mr. Jay's mission to England. The message, to be prepared by Mr. Randolph, was the communication to the Senate, announcing the nomination of Mr. Jay.

“ *To Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State.*

“ Tuesday Morning, 15 April, 1794.

“ DEAR SIR,—Let me know whether the message, which in the evening of yesterday I requested you to draw, will be ready by eleven o'clock this forenoon ? If you answer in the affirmative, I shall require the gentlemen, with whom I usually advise on these occasions, to attend me at that hour ; for I consider that message, both as to matter and form, of such importance as to make it necessary, that every word of it should undergo due consideration.

"My objects are, to prevent a war, if justice can be obtained by fair and strong representations (to be made by a special envoy) of the injuries which this country has sustained from Great Britain in various ways, to put it into a complete state of military defence, and to provide eventually for the execution of such measures, as seem to be now pending in Congress, if negotiation in a reasonable time proves unsuccessful.

"Such is the train of my thoughts ; but how far all, or any of them, except the first, ought to be introduced into the message, in the present stage of the business in Congress, deserves, as I have said before, due consideration.

"Yours, &c."

"To John Jay.

"Secret and Confidential.

"Philadelphia, 29 April, 1794.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Receive, I pray you, the suggestion I am going to impart, with the friendship and caution the delicacy of it requires.

"You are already informed, that I am under the necessity of recalling Mr. Gouverneur Morris from France, and you can readily conceive the difficulty which occurs in finding a successor, that would be agreeable to that nation, and who, at the same time, would meet the approbation of the friends of that country in this.

"These considerations have induced me to ask you, if it could be made to comport with your inclination, after you shall have finished your business as envoy, and not before, to become the resident minister plenipotentiary at London, that Mr. Pinckney, by that means, might be sent to Paris ? I mean no more, than simply to ask the question, not intending, although the measure would remove the above difficulty, to press it in the smallest degree.

"If you answer in the affirmative, be so good as to return the enclosed letter to me, and correspondent arrangements shall be made. If in the negative, I pray you to forward it through the penny post, or otherwise, according to circumstances, to the gentleman to whom it is

directed, without delay ; and, in either case, to let the transaction be confined entirely to ourselves. With much truth and regard, I am sincerely and affectionately yours."

*"Mr. Jay's Answer.*

*"New York, 30 April, 1794.*

"DEAR SIR,—I was this day honored with yours of yesterday. There is nothing I more ardently wish for than retirement, and leisure to attend to my books and papers ; but, parental duties not permitting it, I must acquiesce, and thank God for the many blessings I enjoy. If the judiciary was on its proper footing, there is no public station that I should prefer to the one in which you have placed me. It accords with my turn of mind, my education, and my habits.

"I expect to sail in the course of a fortnight, and if my prayers and endeavors avail, my absence will not be of long duration. The gentleman, to whom your letter is addressed, is not in town. To obviate delay and accidents, I sent it to his brother, who will doubtless forward it immediately, either by a direct conveyance or by the post. From the confidence you repose in me, I derive the most pleasing emotions, and I thank you for them. Life is uncertain. Whether I take your letter with me or leave it here, it would in case of my death be inspected by others, who, however virtuous, might be indiscreet. After much reflection, I conclude it will be most prudent to commit it to you, without retaining any copy or memorandum except in my memory, where the numerous proofs of your kind attention to me are carefully preserved. With perfect respect, esteem, and attachment, I am, &c."

*"To Tobias Lear.*

*"Philadelphia, 6 May, 1794.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—The reception you met with from the Earl of Buchan and Sir John Sinclair gives me sincere pleasure ; and I am glad to find they have introduced you to characters, who may not only contribute to your present gratification, but who, in the revolution of events,

may be of service in a future walk of life, without a possible disservice, that results not from imprudence ; against which your own good sense will always secure you.

“ Many measures have been moved in Congress, in consequence of the aforementioned orders of the British cabinet. Some have passed into acts, and others are yet pending. Those, which have become laws, are, one for fortifying our principal seaports, which is now in vigorous execution, and for raising an additional corps of eight hundred artillerymen for the defence of them and for other purposes. The bills, which are pending, are to complete our present military establishment ; to raise an army of twenty-five thousand in addition thereto ; and to organize, put in training, and to hold in readiness at a minute’s warning, a select corps of eighty thousand militia. Of the passing of the first and last of these, no doubt seems to be entertained on either side of the House ; but those, who are fearful of what they call a standing army, will give all the opposition they can to the other. The result, therefore, none will predict in the present stage of the business.

“ Besides these, a bill passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, founded on the following preamble and resolution.

“ ‘ Whereas, the injuries which have been suffered, and may be suffered by the United States, from violations committed by Great Britain on their neutral rights and commercial interests, as well as from the failure to execute the seventh article of the treaty of peace, render it expedient for the interests of the United States, that the commercial intercourse between the two countries should not continue to be carried on in the extent at present allowed ;

“ ‘ Resolved, that from and after the 1st day of November next all commercial intercourse between the citizens of the United States and the subjects of the King of Great Britain, or the citizens or subjects of any other nation, as far as the same respects articles of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, shall be prohibited.’

“ This measure was arrested in the Senate at the third reading by the casting vote of the Vice President ; not, as it is said, and generally believed, from a disinclination to the ulterior expedience of the measure, but from a desire to try the effect of negotiation previous thereto. Sequestration of British property, exclusive of that in the funds, and other expedients of a similar kind, have been agitated in the House of Representatives, but seem, I think, to be talked off the stage.

“ I wish most sincerely, that some inducement could be offered to Professor Anderson, which would bring him to this country. His labors are, certainly, ingenious and worthy of encouragement ; but I fear it will not be in my power to benefit these States by them. His communications, however, are under consideration.

“ My public avocations will not at any rate admit of more than a flying trip to Mount Vernon for a few days this summer. This not suiting Mrs. Washington, I have taken a house in Germantown, to avoid the heat of this city in the months of July and August. She, Nelly, and the rest of the family, unite with me in every good wish for your health, prosperity, and safe return. With affection and regard, I am and always shall be yours.”

About this time, a spirit of discontent, amounting, in some places, to open resistance of the laws, and, in the interior of Pennsylvania, to an organized insurrection, was beginning to show itself among the people, and awakened the apprehensions, and saddened the hearts, of many of the wisest and best men in the country. Washington's feelings, on the occasion, are expressed in a letter, dated Philadelphia, August 10, 1794. He had, on the seventh of that month, issued a proclamation, presenting his views respecting these insurrectionary proceedings ; and giving warning, that, unless the insurgents should disperse, previously to the first of September, he would resist them by military force ; at the same time, expressing his opinion, that the time had come, when it was necessary to call out the militia for the support of the laws. In the letter just referred to, speaking of the people of Kentucky, among whom such a spirit was said to exist, he says :

“The protection they receive, and the unwearied endeavors of the general government to accomplish, by repeated and ardent remonstrances, what they seem to have most at heart, namely, the navigation of the Mississippi, obtain no credit with them, or, what is full as likely, may be concealed from them or misrepresented by those *Societies*, which, under specious colorings, are spreading mischief far and wide, either from real ignorance of the measures pursuing by the government, or from a wish to bring it, as much as they are able, into discredit ; for what purposes, every man is left to his own conjectures.

“That similar attempts to give discontent to the public mind have been practised with too much success in some of the western counties in this State, you are, I am certain, not to learn. Actual rebellion against the laws of the United States exists at this moment, notwithstanding every lenient measure, which could comport with the duties of the public officers, has been exercised to reconcile them to the collection of the taxes upon spirituous liquors and stills. What may be the consequences of such violent and outrageous proceedings is painful in a high degree even in contemplation. But, if the laws are to be so trampled upon with impunity, and a minority, a small one too, is to dictate to the majority, there is an end put, at one stroke, to republican government ; and nothing but anarchy and confusion are to be expected hereafter. Some other man or society may dislike another law, and oppose it with equal propriety, until all laws are prostrate, and every one, the strongest I presume, will carve for himself. Yet there will be found persons, I have no doubt, who, although they may not be hardy enough to justify such open opposition to the laws, will nevertheless be opposed to coercion, even if the proclamation and the other temperate measures, which are in train by the executive to avert the dire necessity of a resort to arms, should fail. How far such people may extend their influence, and what may be the consequences thereof, is not easy to decide ; but this we know, that it is not difficult, by concealment of some facts and the exaggeration of others, where there is an influence, to

bias a well-meaning mind, although we allow truth will ultimately prevail where pains are taken to bring it to light.

"I have a great regard for General Morgan, and respect his military talents, and am persuaded, if a fit occasion should occur, no one would exert them with more zeal in the service of his country than he would. It is my ardent wish, however, that this country should remain in peace as long as the interest, honor, and dignity of it will permit, and its laws, enacted by the representatives of the people freely chosen, shall obtain.

"With much esteem, I am, dear sir, &c."

"*To Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia.*

"Private.

"Germantown, 26 August, 1794.

"DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 17th came duly to hand, and I thank you for its communications. As the insurgents in the western counties of this State are resolved, as far as we have yet been able to learn from the commissioners who have been sent among them, to persevere in their rebellious conduct until what they call the excise law is repealed, and acts of oblivion and amnesty are passed, it gives me sincere consolation, amidst the regrets, with which I am filled by such lawless and outrageous conduct, to find, by your letter above mentioned, that it is held in general detestation by the good people of Virginia, and that you are disposed to lend your personal aid to subdue this spirit, and to bring those people to a proper sense of their duty.

"On this latter point I shall refer you to letters from the war office, and to a private one from Colonel Hamilton, (who, in the absence of the Secretary of War, superintends the military duties of that department,) for my sentiments on this occasion.

"It is with equal pride and satisfaction I add, that, as far as my information extends, this insurrection is viewed with universal indignation and abhorrence, except by those, who have never missed an opportunity, by side-blows or otherwise, to attack the general government; and even



among these there is not a spirit hardy enough yet openly to justify the daring infractions of law and order ; but by palliatives they are attempting to suspend all proceedings against the insurgents, until Congress shall have decided on the case, thereby intending to gain time, and if possible to make the evil more extensive, more formidable, and of course more difficult to counteract and subdue.

“ I consider this insurrection as the first formidable fruit of the Democratic Societies, brought forth, I believe, too prematurely for their own views, which may contribute to the annihilation of them.

“ That these societies were instituted by the artful and designing members (many of their body I have no doubt mean well, but know little of the real plan) primarily to sow among the people the seeds of jealousy and distrust of the government, by destroying all confidence in the administration of it, and that these doctrines have been budding and blowing ever since, is not new to any one, who is acquainted with the character of their leaders, and has been attentive to their manœuvres. I early gave it as my opinion to the confidential characters around me, that, if these societies were not counteracted, (not by prosecutions, the ready way to make them grow stronger,) or did not fall into disesteem from the knowledge of their origin, and the views with which they had been instituted by their father, Genet, for purposes well known to the government, they would shake the government to its foundation. Time and circumstances have confirmed me in this opinion ; and I deeply regret the probable consequences ; not as they will affect me personally, for I have not long to act on this theatre, and sure I am that not a man amongst them can be more anxious to put me aside, than I am to sink into the profoundest retirement, but because I see, under a display of popular and fascinating guises, the most diabolical attempts to destroy the best fabric of human government and happiness, that has ever been presented for the acceptance of mankind.

“ A part of the plan for creating discord is, I perceive, to make me say things of others, and others of me, which have no foundation in truth. The first, in many instances,

I *know* to be the case ; and the second I believe to be so. But truth or falsehood is immaterial to them, provided the objects are promoted.

“ Under this head may be classed, I conceive, what it is reported I have said of Mr. Henry, and what Mr. Jefferson is reported to have said of me ; on both of which, particularly the first, I mean to dilate a little. With solemn truth then I can declare, that I never expressed such sentiments of that gentleman, as from your letter he has been led to believe. I had heard, it is true, that he retained his enmity to the Constitution ; but with very peculiar pleasure I learned from Colonel Coles, who, I am sure, will recollect it, that Mr. Henry was acquiescent in his conduct, and that, though he could not give up his opinion respecting the Constitution, yet, unless he should be called upon by official duty, he would express no sentiment unfriendly to the exercise of the powers of a government, which had been chosen by a majority of the people, or words to this effect.

“ Except intimating in this conversation, which, to the best of my recollection, was introduced by Colonel Coles, that report had made Mr. Henry speak a different language ; and afterwards at Prince Edward Court-House, where I saw Mr. Venables, and, finding I was within eight or ten miles of Mr. Henry’s seat, and expressing my regret at not seeing him, the conversation might be similar to that held with Colonel Coles ; I say, except in these two instances, I do not recollect, nor do I believe, that in the course of the journey to and from the southward I ever mentioned Mr. Henry’s name in conjunction with the Constitution or the government. It is evident, therefore, that these reports are propagated with evil intentions, to create personal differences. On the question of the Constitution, Mr. Henry and myself, it is well known, have been of different opinions ; but personally I have always respected and esteemed him ; nay, more, I have conceived myself under obligations to him for the friendly manner in which he transmitted to me some insidious anonymous writings, that were sent to him in the close of the year 1777, with a view to embark

him in the opposition that was forming against me at that time.

“I well recollect the conversations you allude to in the winter preceding the last, and I recollect also, that difficulties occurred, which you, any more than myself, were not able to remove. First, though you believed, yet you would not undertake to assert, that Mr. Henry would be induced to accept any appointment under the general government; in which case, and supposing him to be inimical to it, the wound the government would receive by his refusal, and the charge of attempting to silence his opposition by a place, would be great. Secondly, because you were of opinion that no office, which would make a residence at the seat of government essential, would comport with his position or views. And, thirdly, because, if there was a vacancy in the supreme judiciary at that time, of which I am not at this time certain, it could not be filled from Virginia, without giving two judges to that State, which would have excited unpleasant sensations in other States. Any thing short of one of the great offices, it could not be presumed he would accept, nor would there, under any opinion he might entertain, have been propriety in. What is it, then, you have in contemplation, that you conceive would be relished? And ought there not to be a moral certainty of its acceptance? This being the case, there would not be wanting a disposition on my part, but strong inducements on public and private grounds, to invite Mr. Henry into any employment under the general government, to which his inclination might lead, and not opposed by those maxims, which have been the invariable rule of my conduct.

“With respect to the words said to have been uttered by Mr. Jefferson, they would be enigmatical to those, who are acquainted with the characters about me, unless supposed to be spoken ironically; and in that case they are too injurious to me, and have too little foundation in truth, to be ascribed to him. There could not be the trace of doubt on his mind of predilection in mine towards Great Britain or her politics, unless, which I do not believe, he has set me down as one of the most deceitful

and uncandid men living ; because, not only in private conversations between ourselves on this subject, but in my meetings with the confidential servants of the public, he has heard me often, when occasions presented themselves, express very different sentiments, with an energy that could not be mistaken by any one present.

“ Having determined, as far as lay within the power of the executive, to keep this country in a state of neutrality, I have made my public conduct accord with the system ; and, whilst so acting as a public character, consistency and propriety as a private man forbid those intemperate expressions in favor of one nation, or to the prejudice of another, which many have indulged themselves in, and, I will venture to add, to the embarrassment of government, without producing any good to the country. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, yours, &c.”

“ *To Henry Knox, Secretary of War.*

“ Carlisle, 9 October, 1794.

“ DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 6th came to hand last night. It would have given me pleasure to have you with me, and advantages might have resulted from it, on my present tour, if your return in time would have allowed it. It is now too late, as we shall be in the act of crossing the mountains, or I shall be on my return to Philadelphia, according to circumstances and the information I shall receive at the head of the line, before you could arrive with any tolerable ease and convenience to proceed, and when the latter, from present appearances, is most likely to happen.

“ I am very glad to hear of your safe return. We were apprehensive something more than common had happened, from no one having received a line from you for a considerable time before I left the city.

“ Our accounts from the insurgent counties are neither distinct nor satisfactory. The only occurrence of consequence I have mentioned in a private letter to Mr. Randolph. To-morrow, if I can get the troops in motion at this place, I shall set out for Williamsport, thence

to Cumberland, and from thence to Bedford ; where, about the 18th or 20th, my ultimate measures will be determined on. In haste, I am yours, &c."

*" To Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State.*

*" Private.*

*" Fort Cumberland, 16 October, 1794.*

"DEAR SIR,—Your letters of the 11th instant were received this morning at my stage fifteen miles short of this place. We arrived here in the afternoon of this day, and found a respectable force assembled from the States of Virginia and Maryland ; and I am informed that about fifteen hundred more, from the former State, either are or will be at Frankfort, ten miles on our left, this evening or to-morrow at furthest. Nothing more precise, than you were informed of in my last from Carlisle, has been heard from the insurgent counties. All accounts agree, however, that they are much alarmed at the serious appearance of things ; the truth of which I expect to be better informed of to-morrow or next day, by persons whom I have sent amongst them, and whose return may be looked for about that time.

"I do not expect to be here more than two days ; thence to Bedford, where, as soon as matters are arranged and a plan settled, I shall shape my course for Philadelphia ; but not because the impertinence of Mr. Bache or his correspondent has undertaken to pronounce, that I cannot constitutionally command the army, whilst Congress are in session.

"I believe the eyes of all the well-disposed people of this country will soon be opened, and that they will clearly see the tendency, if not the design, of the leader of these self-created societies. As far as I have heard them spoken of, it is with strong reprobation. I should be extremely sorry, therefore, if Mr. M——n, from any cause whatsoever, should get entangled with them or their politics.

"As the speech will be composed of several distinct topics, my wish was that each of these should receive its final dress, subject however to revision ; that part, espe-

cially, which relates to the insurrection and the proceedings thereupon. The subjects themselves will naturally point to the order in which they ought to follow each other ; and the throwing them into it cannot, at any time, be more than the work of a few minutes, after the materials are all provided. It will appear evident, on a moment's reflection, that the continual interruptions in a militia camp, where every thing is to be provided and arranged, will allow no time to clothe the speech in a correct or handsome garb ; nor will there be time to do it after my return.

“ My mind is so perfectly convinced, that, if these self-created societies cannot be discountenanced, they will destroy the government of this country, that I have asked myself, whilst I have been revolving on the expense and inconvenience of drawing so many men from their families and occupations as I have seen on their march, where would be the impropriety of glancing at them in my speech, by some such idea as the following : ‘ That, however distressing this expedition will have proved to individuals, and expensive to the country, the pleasing spirit, which it has drawn forth in support of law and government, will immortalize the American character, and is a happy presage, that future attempts of a certain description of people to disturb the public tranquillity will prove equally abortive.’ I have formed no precise ideas of what is best to be done or said on this subject, nor have I time to express properly what has occurred to me, as I am now writing at an hour when I ought to be in bed, because, during the day, from business or ceremonious introductions, I have been unable to do it sooner. I am, &c.”

“ *To Henry Lee, Commander-in-chief of the Militia Army.*

“ Bedford, 20 October, 1794.

“ SIR,—Being about to return to the seat of government, I cannot take my departure, without conveying through you to the army under your command, the very high sense I entertain of the enlightened and patriotic zeal for the Constitution and the laws, which has led them.

cheerfully to quit their families, homes, and the comforts of private life, to undertake and thus far to perform a long and fatiguing march, and to encounter and endure the hardships and privations of a military life. Their conduct hitherto affords a full assurance, that their perseverance will be equal to their zeal, and that they will continue to perform with alacrity whatever the full accomplishment of the object of their march shall render necessary.

“No citizens of the United States can ever be engaged in a service more important to their country. It is nothing less than to consolidate and to preserve the blessings of that Revolution, which, at much expense of blood and treasure, constituted us a free and independent nation. It is to give the world an illustrious example, of the utmost consequence to the cause of mankind. I experience a heart-felt satisfaction in the conviction, that the conduct of the troops throughout will be in every respect answerable to the goodness of the cause and the magnitude of the stake.

“There is but one other point on which I think it proper to add a special recommendation ; it is, that every officer and soldier will constantly bear in mind, that he comes to support the laws, and that it would be peculiarly unbecoming in him to be in any way the infractor of them ; that the essential principles of a free government confine the province of the military, when called forth on such occasions, to these two objects, first, to combat and subdue all who may be found in arms in opposition to the national will and authority, secondly, to aid and support the civil magistrates in bringing offenders to justice. The dispensation of this justice belongs to the civil magistrate ; and let it ever be our pride and our glory to leave the sacred deposit there inviolate. Convey to my fellow-citizens in arms my warm acknowledgements for the readiness, with which they have hitherto seconded me in the most delicate and momentous duty the chief magistrate of a free people can have to perform, and add my affectionate wishes for their health, comfort, and success. Could my further presence with them have been necessary, or compatible with my civil duties at a period when the ap-

proaching commencement of a session of Congress particularly calls me to return to the seat of government, it would not have been withheld. In leaving them I have the less regret, as I know I commit them to an able and faithful direction, and that this direction will be ably and faithfully seconded by all. I am, &c."

*" To Edmund Pendleton.*

*" Philadelphia, 22 January, 1795.*

"DEAR SIR,—From a long acquaintance with and sincere regard for you, I always feel pleasure in hearing from you and of you. Consequently your letter of the 30th ultimo was an acceptable annuity.

"Notwithstanding you have passed your seventy-third year, whilst you enjoy tolerable health, and retain your faculties in the vigor they are, I wish, as well on public as on private account, that length of days may be added to those which you have already numbered. A month from this day, if I should live to see the completion of it, will place me on the wrong (perhaps it would be better to say on the advanced) side of my grand climacteric; and, although I have no cause to complain of the want of health, I can religiously aver, that no man was ever more tired of public life, or more devoutly wished for retirement than I do.

"I hope and believe, that the spirit of anarchy in the western counties of this State, to quell which the force of the Union was called for, is entirely subsided; and although, to effect it, the community has been saddled with a considerable expense, yet I trust no money could have been more advantageously expended, both as it respects the internal peace and welfare of this country, and the impression it will make on others. The spirit with which the militia turned out in support of the Constitution and the laws of our country, at the same time that it does them immortal honor, is the most conclusive refutation, that could have been given to the assertions of Lord Sheffield, that, without the protection of Great Britain, we should be unable to govern ourselves, and would soon be involved in confusion. They will see, that republicanism



is not the phantom of a deluded imagination. On the contrary, that laws, under no form of government, will be better supported, liberty and property better secured, or happiness be more effectually dispensed to mankind."

In another letter, Washington gives the following spirited description of the zeal and energy, displayed by the great body of the people, in putting down these insurrectionary proceedings.

"The spirit, which blazed out, on this occasion, as soon as the object was fully understood, and the lenient measures of the government were made known to the people, deserves to be communicated. There are instances of general officers, going at the head of a single troop, and of light companies ; of field-officers, when they came to the places of rendezvous, and found no command for them in that grade, turning into the ranks, and proceeding as private soldiers, under their own captains ; and of numbers, possessing the first fortunes in the country, standing in the ranks, as private men, and marching, day by day, with their knapsacks and haversacks at their backs, sleeping on straw, with a single blanket, in a soldier's tent, during the frosty nights which we have had, by way of example to others. Nay, more ; many young Quakers, of the first families, character, and property, not discouraged by the elders, have turned into the ranks, and are marching with the troops."

His views, on the difficult and most interesting subject of the treatment of the Indians, by the American Government, are presented in the following extract from a letter to Edmund Pendleton, already quoted.

"I accord, fully, in opinion with yourself, that the plan of annual presents, in an abstract view, unaccompanied with other measures, is not the best mode of treating ignorant savages, from whose hostile conduct we experience much distress ; but it is not to be forgotten, that they, in turn, are not without serious causes of complaint, from the encroachments which are made on their lands, by our people, who are not to be restrained by any law, now in being, or likely to be enacted. They, poor

wretches, have no press through which their grievances are related ; and it is well known, that, when one side only of a story is heard and often repeated, the human mind becomes impressed with it insensibly. The annual presents, however, to which you allude, are not given so much with a view to purchase peace, as by way of contribution for injuries not otherwise to be redressed. These people are very much irritated by the continual pressure of land speculators and settlers on one hand, and on the other by the impositions of unauthorized and unprincipled traders, who rob them, in a manner, of their hunting. Nothing but the strong arm of the Union, or, in other words, adequate laws, can correct these abuses. But here jealousies and prejudices, from which I apprehend more fatal consequences to this government, than from any other source, aided by local situations, and perhaps by interested considerations, always oppose themselves to efficient measures.

“ My communications to Congress, at the last and present sessions, have proceeded upon ideas similar to those expressed in your letter, namely, to make fair treaties with the savage tribes, (by this I mean, that they shall perfectly understand every article and clause of them, from correct and repeated interpretations ; ) that these treaties shall be held sacred, and the infractors on either side punished exemplarily ; and to furnish them plentifully with goods, under wholesome regulations, without aiming at higher prices than are adequate to cover the cost and charges. If measures like these were adopted, we might hope to live in peace and amity with these borderers ; but not whilst our citizens, in violation of law and justice, are guilty of the offences I have mentioned, and are carrying on unauthorized expeditions against them ; and when, for the most atrocious murders, even of those of whom we have the least cause of complaint, a jury on the frontiers can hardly be got to listen to a charge, much less to convict a culprit.”

The subject of the treaty, which Mr. Jay was negotiating in London, was at this time fast absorbing the attention and interests of the American people. On

the first of Nov. 1794, Washington writes to him, thus :

“ For the honor, dignity, and interests of this country, for your own reputation, and glory, and for the peculiar pleasure and satisfaction I should derive from it, as well on private, as on public considerations, no man more ardently wishes you complete success, than I do. But, as you have observed in some of your letters, that it is hardly possible, in the early stages of a negotiation, to foresee all the results, so much depending upon fortuitous circumstances and incidents, which are not within our control ; so, to deserve success, by employing the means of which we are possessed to the best advantage, and trusting the rest to the All-wise Disposer, is all that an enlightened public, and the virtuous and well-disposed part of the community, can reasonably expect ; nor in this, will they, I am sure, be disappointed. Against the malignancy of the discontented, the turbulent, and the vicious, no abilities, no exertions, nor the most unshaken integrity, are any safeguard.

“ As far as depends upon the Executive, measures preparatory for the worst, while it hopes for the best, will be pursued ; and I shall endeavor to keep things *in statu quo*, until your negotiation assumes a more decisive form, which, I hope, will soon be the case, as there are many hot heads and impetuous spirits among us, who, with difficulty, can be kept within bounds. This, however, ought not to precipitate your conduct ; for, as it has been observed, “ there is a tide in the affairs of men,” that ought always to be watched ; and because I believe all, who are acquainted with you, will readily concede, that considerations, both public and private, combine to urge you to bring your mission to a close, with as much celerity as the nature of it will admit.”

There was a true moral sublimity in the manner in which Washington bore himself, throughout this whole transaction of Jay's mission, and the treaty which was the result of it. While he felt that “ peace,” to use his own words, “ ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations,” at the same time, he was determined to vindicate the rights of the United States, at every hazard.

*" To Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State.*

*" Private.*

*" Mount Vernon, 29 July, 1795.*

" MY DEAR SIR,—Your private letters of the 24th and 25th instant have been received, and you will learn by the official letter of this date my determination of returning to Philadelphia after Monday, if nothing in the interim casts up to render it unnecessary.

" I am excited to this resolution by the violent and extraordinary proceedings, which have and are about taking place in the northern parts of the Union, and may be expected in the southern ; because I think that the Memorial, the Ratification, and the Instructions, which are framing, are of such vast magnitude as not only to require great individual consideration, but a solemn conjunct revision. The latter could not take place if you were to come here ; nor would there be that source of information, which is to be found at, and is continually flowing to, the seat of government ; and besides, in the course of deliberation on these great objects, the examination of official papers may more than probably be found essential, which could be resorted to at no other place than Philadelphia.

" To leave home so soon will be inconvenient. A month hence it would have been otherwise ; and it was, as I hinted to you before I left the city, in contemplation by me for the purpose of Mrs. Washington's remaining here till November, when I intended to come back for her. But whilst I am in office, I shall never suffer private convenience to interfere with what I conceive to be my official duty.

" I view the opposition, which the treaty is receiving from the meetings in different parts of the Union, in a very serious light ; not because there is more weight in any of the objections, which are made to it, than was foreseen at first, for there is none in some of them, and gross misrepresentations in others ; nor as it respects myself personally, for this shall have no influence on my conduct, plainly perceiving, and I am accordingly prepa-

ring my mind for it, the obloquy which disappointment and malice are collecting to heap upon me. But I am alarmed at the effect it may have on, and the advantage the French government may be disposed to make of, the spirit which is at work to cherish a belief in them, that the treaty is calculated to favor Great Britain at their expense. Whether they believe or disbelieve these tales, the effect it will have upon the nation will be nearly the same ; for, whilst they are at war with that power, or so long as the animosity between the two nations exists, it will, no matter at whose expense, be their policy, and it is to be feared will be their conduct, to prevent us from being on good terms with Great Britain, or her from deriving any advantages from our trade, which they can hinder, however much we may be benefited thereby ourselves. To what length this policy and interest may carry them is problematical ; but, when they see the people of this country divided, and such a violent opposition given to the measures of their own government pretendedly in their favor, it may be extremely embarrassing, to say no more of it.

“ To sum the whole up in a few words, I have never, since I have been in the administration of the government, seen a crisis, which in my judgement has been so pregnant with interesting events, nor one from which more is to be apprehended, whether viewed on one side or the other. From New York there is, and I am told will further be, a counter current ; but how formidable it may appear, I know not. If the same does not take place at Boston and other towns, it will afford but too strong evidence, that the opposition is in a manner universal, and would make the ratification a very serious business indeed. But, as it respects the French, even counter resolutions would, for the reasons I have already mentioned, do little more than weaken, in a small degree, the effect the other side would have.

“ I have written and do now enclose the letter, the draught of which was approved by the heads of departments, to the selectmen of the town of Boston ; but if new lights have been had upon the subject, since it was

agreed to, or if upon reconsideration any alteration should be deemed necessary, I request you to detain it until I see you. Let me also request, that the same attention may be given to the draught of a letter to Portsmouth, and the Chamber of Commerce at New York, as was recommended on that occasion. I am, &c.

“ P. S. I add to the paper sent, Chancellor Livingston’s letter, and wish, if it is best to give it an answer, that one may be prepared. Although this letter is a hurried as well as a private one, I have no objection to the confidential officers seeing it, and wish them to prepare their minds on the several subjects mentioned therein by the time I arrive.”

“ *To Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State.*

“ *Private.*

“ Mount Vernon, 31 July, 1795.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—On Wednesday evening I sent the packet, now under cover with this, to the post-office in Alexandria, to be forwarded next morning at the usual hour, four o’clock, by the Baltimore mail. But, behold ! when my letter-bag was brought back from the office and emptied, I not only got those which were addressed to me, among which yours of the 27th was one, but those also which I had sent up the evening before.

“ I have to regret this blunder of the postmaster, on account of the enclosures, some of which I wished to have got to your hands without delay, that they might have undergone the consideration and acting upon, which were suggested in the letter accompanying them. On another account I am not sorry for the return of the packet, as I resolved thereupon, and on reading some letters, which I received at the same time, to wait your acknowledgement of the receipt of my letter of the 24th instant, before I would set out ; as I should thereby be placed on a certainty whether your journey hither, or mine to Philadelphia, would under all circumstances be deemed most eligible ; or whether the business could not be equally well done without either ; repeating now, what I

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did in my letter of the 24th, that I do not require more than a day's notice to repair to the seat of government, and that, if you and the confidential officers with you are not clear in the measures, which are best to be pursued in the several matters mentioned in my last, my own opinion is, and for the reasons there given, that difficult and intricate or delicate questions had better be settled there, where the streams of information are continually flowing in, and that I would set out accordingly.

“To be wise and temperate, as well as firm, the present crisis most eminently calls for. There is too much reason to believe, from the pains which have been taken before, at, and since the advice of the Senate respecting the treaty, that the prejudices against it are more extensive than is generally imagined. This I have lately understood to be the case in this quarter, from men, who are of no party, but well disposed to the present administration. How should it be otherwise, when no stone has been left unturned, that could impress on the minds of the people the most arrant misrepresentation of facts, that their rights have not only been *neglected*, but absolutely *sold*; that there are no reciprocal advantages in the treaty; that the benefits are all on the side of Great Britain; and, what seems to have had more weight with them than all the rest, and to have been most pressed, that the treaty is made with the design to oppress the French, in open violation of our treaty with that nation, and contrary, too, to every principle of gratitude and sound policy? In time, when passion shall have yielded to sober reason, the current may possibly turn; but, in the mean while, this government, in relation to France and England, may be compared to a ship between the rocks of Scylla and Charybdis. If the treaty is ratified, the partisans of the French, or rather of war and confusion, will excite them to hostile measures, or at least to unfriendly sentiments; if it is not, there is no foreseeing all the consequences which may follow, as it respects Great Britain.

“It is not to be inferred from hence, that I am disposed to quit the ground I have taken, unless circumstan-

ces more imperious than have yet come to my knowledge should compel it ; for there is but one straight course, and that is to seek truth and pursue it steadily. But these things are mentioned to show, that a close investigation of the subject is more than ever necessary, and that they are strong evidences of the necessity of the most circumspect conduct in carrying the determination of government into effect, with prudence as it respects our own people, and with every exertion to produce a change for the better from Great Britain.

“ The memorial seems well designed to answer the end proposed ; and by the time it is revised and new dressed, you will probably (either in the resolutions, which are or will be handed to me, or in the newspaper publications, which you promised to be attentive to) have seen all the objections against the treaty, which have any real force in them, and which may be fit subjects for representation in the memorial, or in the instructions, or both. But how much longer the presentation of the memorial can be delayed without exciting unpleasant sensations here, or involving serious evils elsewhere, you, who are at the scene of information and action, can decide better than I. In a matter, however, so interesting and pregnant with consequences as this treaty, there ought to be no precipitation ; but, on the contrary, every step should be explored before it is taken, and every word weighed before it is uttered or delivered in writing.

“ The form of the ratification requires more diplomatic experience and legal knowledge than I possess, or have the means of acquiring at this place, and therefore I shall say nothing about it. I am, &c.”

“ *To Robert R. Livingston.*

“ Philadelphia, 20 August, 1795.

“ DEAR SIR,—I received your favor dated the 8th of July, on the subject of the treaty with Great Britain, the day preceding my departure from Mount Vernon, from whence I intended to have acknowledged the receipt of it ; but the many letters of a public nature poured upon me at that place, and the urgency of the business



in which I have since been engaged, have prevented my doing it till now.

“Aiming only to promote and secure the true interests of my country, I willingly receive information concerning those interests from my fellow-citizens. The opinions and reasonings of enlightened men are particularly acceptable ; but, as it happens in other matters, so in this, they are extremely variant. You deem the treaty palpably defective and pregnant with evils ; others think it contains substantial good. For myself, I freely own, that I cannot discern in it the mischiefs you anticipate. On the contrary, although it does not rise to all our wishes, yet it appears to me calculated to procure to the United States such advantages, as entitle it to our acceptance. My final act of course conforms to this opinion.

“I feel myself greatly obliged by your expressions of respect, esteem, and attachment, and, if the unvarying integrity of my views have deserved them, they will not now be withdrawn ; for I can merit your good opinion, and the general approbation of my fellow-citizens, only by a conscientious discharge of what I conceive to be my duty. With great esteem and regard, I am, &c.”

“*To Edmund Randolph.*

“Philadelphia, 21 October, 1795.

“SIR,—In several of the public gazettes I had read your note to the editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, with an extract from a letter, addressed to me, of the 8th instant ; but it was not until yesterday that the letter itself was received.

“It is not difficult from the tenor of that letter to perceive what your objects are ; but, that you may have no cause to complain of the withholding of any paper however private and confidential, which you shall think necessary in a case of so serious a nature, I have directed that you should have the inspection of my letter of the 22d of July, agreeably to your request, and you are at full liberty to publish without reserve *any* and *every* private and confidential letter I ever wrote to you ; nay, more,

every word I ever uttered to you or in your hearing, from whence you can derive any advantage in your vindication. I grant this permission, inasmuch as the extract alluded to manifestly tends to impress on the public mind an opinion, that something has passed between us, which you should disclose with reluctance, from motives of delicacy with respect to me.

“ You know, sir, even before the treaty was laid before the Senate, that I had difficulties with respect to the commercial part of it, with which I professed to be the least acquainted, and that I had no means of acquiring information thereon without disclosing its contents, not to do which until it was submitted to the Senate had been resolved on. You know, too, that it was my determination, previous to this submission, to ratify the treaty, if it should be so advised and consented to by that body ; and that the doubts, which afterwards arose and were communicated verbally to Mr. Hammond, proceeded from more authentic information of the existence of what is commonly called the ‘ Provision Order’ of the British government. And finally, you know the grounds on which my ultimate decision was taken, as the same were expressed to you, the other Secretaries of departments, and the late Attorney-General, after a thorough investigation of the subject in all the aspects in which it could be placed.

“ As you are no longer an officer of the government, and propose to submit your vindication to the public, it is not my desire, nor is it my intention, to receive it otherwise than through the medium of the press. Facts you cannot mistake, and, if they are fairly and candidly stated, they will invite no comments.

“ The extract from your letter to me, dated the 8th instant, being published in all the gazettes, I request that this letter may be inserted in the compilation you are now making ; as well to show my disposition to furnish you with every means I possess towards your vindication, as that I have no wish to conceal any part of my conduct from the public. That public will judge, when it comes to see your vindication, how far and how proper it has

been for you to publish private and confidential communications, which oftentimes have been written in a hurry, and sometimes without even copies being taken ; and it will, I hope, appreciate my motives, even if it should condemn my prudence, in allowing you the unlimited license herein contained. I am, &c."

Edmund Randolph, the person to whom the letter last quoted was directed, had been the object of General Washington's confidence and favor, from his early youth. Aided by his powerful influence he had been Governor of Virginia, and was appointed by him Attorney-General of the United States, and afterwards Secretary of State. In the course of the political discussions which, connected with the agitations of Europe, became prevalent throughout the United States at that time, Edmund Randolph was led to espouse the interests of the party which sympathized with France. An intercepted letter, written by Fauchet, the French minister to the United States, implicated the Secretary of State, and conveyed the intimation that he had been secured by corrupt influence. Washington was at Mount Vernon when this letter, which, at that time, had not been made public, was communicated to certain members of his cabinet. They instantly wrote to him, urging his immediate return to the seat of government, which was then Philadelphia. On his arrival the letter was shown him. On the 19th of August, he handed it to Mr. Randolph, in the presence of the other members of the cabinet, and demanded an explanation of the part that alluded to him. Mr. Randolph declined any conversation on the subject until he had examined the letter at his leisure, and gave notice that he should instantly resign his office, which he did that very day. Randolph subsequently published a pamphlet, as a vindication of his character and conduct. This pamphlet was very bitter and violent against Washington, who, on surveying its contents, is said to have been highly incensed against its author. This was one of the very few occasions when his feelings, for a moment, obtained the mastery over his habitual self-control. He was stung to the

soul by what appeared to him to be the blackest ingratitude, and the foulest official infidelity and treachery, on the part of one whom he had ever treated with unlimited confidence, and with almost parental fondness.

Whether Mr. Randolph was guilty of the charge which the intercepted letter fastened upon him, cannot be determined with absolute certainty. Fauchet wrote a formal declaration, denying that he had ever designed to authorize such an imputation, or that there was any ground for it in fact. Perhaps the intimations to that effect, in his original letter, were without any other foundation than his own vanity and confidence. Knowing Mr. Randolph's partiality for the French side, in the politics of the day, he might have ventured to speak of him as in his interest, to a degree, and in a sense, which Randolph himself never said or did any thing to justify. At any rate, every benevolent and generous spirit must feel inclined to exculpate him as far as the facts will allow, in consideration of the noble and admirable manner in which, towards the close of his life, he made reparation for the abuse which, in his 'Vindication,' he had cast upon Washington. I quote his language, partly as an illustration of the veneration which even his bitterest opponents were, upon calm and deliberate reflection, compelled to feel towards Washington, and partly in consequence of the singular and inimitable beauty of the passage. In a letter to Bushrod Washington, of July 2d, 1810, Edmund Randolph thus expresses himself :

"I do not retain the smallest degree of that feeling, which roused me fifteen years ago against some individuals. For the world contains no treasure, deception, or charm, which can seduce me from the consolation of being in a state of good-will towards all mankind ; and I should not be mortified to ask pardon of any man with whom I have been at variance, for any injury which I may have done him. If I could now present myself before your venerated uncle, it would be my pride to confess my contrition, that I suffered my irritation, let the cause be what it might, to use some of those expressions respecting him, which, at this moment of my indifference to the ideas

of the world, I wish to recall, as being inconsistent with my subsequent conviction. My life will, I hope, be sufficiently extended, for the recording of my sincere opinion of his virtues and merit, in a style, which is not the result of a mind merely debilitated by misfortune, but of that Christian philosophy, on which, alone, I depend for inward tranquillity."

In writing to Patrick Henry, Washington thus expresses his principles, as an American statesman :

"I persuade myself, sir, it has not escaped your observation, that a crisis is approaching, that must, if it cannot be arrested, soon decide, whether order and good government shall be preserved, or anarchy and confusion ensue. I can most religiously aver, I have no wish, that is incompatible with the dignity, happiness, and true interest, of the people of this country. My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, as far as depended upon the executive department, to comply, strictly, with all our engagements, foreign and domestic ; but to keep the United States free from political connexions with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an *American* character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced, we act for *ourselves*, and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad, and happy at home ; and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union."

In a letter to Gouverneur Morris, he enters upon a full and clear statement of his views towards England, and in reference to all questions that had arisen with that country.

"I do not think that Colonel Innes's report to the Governor of Kentucky was entirely free from exceptions. But let the report be accompanied with the following remarks. First, that the one, which Lord Grenville might have seen published, was disclaimed by Colonel Innes, as soon as it appeared in the public gazettes, on account of its incorrectness. Secondly, an irritable spirit, at that

time pervaded all our people at the westward, arising from a combination of causes, (but from none more powerful than the analogous proceedings of Great Britain in the north, to those of Spain in the south, towards the United States and their Indian borderers,) which spirit required some management and soothing. But, thirdly and principally, Lord Grenville should have adverted to the many remonstrances, which have gone from this country against the conduct of his own, which I will take the liberty to say has been as impolitic for his nation, if peace and a good understanding with this was its object, as it has been irritating to us. And, that it may not be conceived that I am speaking at random, let his lordship be asked, if we have not complained,—That some of their naval officers have insulted and menaced us in *our own ports*? That they have violated our national rights, by searching vessels and impressing seamen within our acknowledged jurisdiction, and in an outrageous manner have seized the latter by *entire crews* in the West Indies, and have done the like, but not so extensively, in all parts of the world? That the Bermudian privateers, or, to speak more correctly, pirates, and the admiralty court of that island, have committed the most atrocious depredations and violences on our commerce, in capturing, and in their adjudications afterwards, such as were never tolerated in any well-organized or efficient government? That the Governor of Upper Canada has ordered, in an official and formal manner, settlers within our own territory, and far removed from the posts they have withheld from us, to withdraw, and forbidden others to settle on the same? That the persons to whom their Indian affairs are intrusted, have taken unwearied pains and practised every deception to keep those people in a state of irritation and disquietude with us; and, to the last moment, exerted every nerve to prevent the treaty, which has lately been concluded between the United States and them, from taking effect?

“These complaints were not founded on vague and idle reports, but on indubitable facts; facts, not only known to the government, but so notorious as to be known to the people also, who charge to the last item of the

above enumeration the expenditure of a million or more of dollars annually for the purpose of self-defence against Indian tribes thus stimulated, and for chastising them for the ravages and cruel murders, which they had committed on our frontier inhabitants. Our minister at the court of London has been directed to remonstrate against these things with force and energy. The answer, it is true, has been (particularly with respect to the interferences with the Indians) a disavowal. Why then are not the agents of such unauthorized, offensive, and injurious measures made example of? For wherein, let me ask, consists the difference *to us* between their being the acts of government, or the acts of unauthorized officers or agents of the government, if we are to sustain all the evils which flow from such measures?

“To this catalogue may be added the indifference, nay, more than indifference, with which the government of Great Britain received the advances of this country towards a friendly intercourse with it, even after the adoption of the present Constitution, and since the operation of the government; and, also, the ungracious and obnoxious characters, (rancorous refugees, as if done with design to insult the country,) whom they have sent among us as their agents, who, retaining all their former enmity, could see nothing through a proper medium, and becoming the earwigs of their minister here, were always laboring under some unfavorable information and impression, and probably not communicating in a less exceptionable manner than they themselves received or conceived them.

“I give you these details (and, if you should again converse with Lord Grenville on the subject, you are at liberty unofficially to mention them, or any of them, according to circumstances) as evidences of the impolitic conduct (for so it strikes me) of the British government towards these United States; that it may be seen how difficult it has been for the executive, under such an accumulation of irritating circumstances, to maintain the ground of neutrality, which had been taken; and at a time when the remembrance of the aid we had received from France in the Revolution was fresh in every mind, and while the

partisans of that country were continually contrasting the affections of *that* people with the unfriendly disposition of the *British government*. And that, too, as I have observed before, while *their own* sufferings during the war with the latter had not been forgotten.

“It is well known, that peace has been (to borrow a modern phrase) the order of the day with me since the disturbances in Europe first commenced. My policy has been, and will continue to be, while I have the honor to remain in the administration, to maintain friendly terms with, but be independent of, all the nations of the earth ; to share in the broils of none ; to fulfil our own engagements ; to supply the wants and be carriers for them all ; being thoroughly convinced, that it is our policy and interest to do so. Nothing short of self-respect, and that justice which is essential to a national character, ought to involve us in war ; for sure I am, if this country is preserved in tranquillity twenty years longer, it may bid defiance in a just cause to any power whatever ; such in that time will be its population, wealth, and resources.

“If Lord Grenville conceives, that the United States are not well disposed towards Great Britain, his candor, I am persuaded, will seek for the causes, and his researches will fix them, as I have done. If this should be the case, his policy will be opposed to the continuance or renewal of the irritating measures, which I have enumerated ; for he may be assured, though the assurance will not, it is probable, carry conviction with it from me to a member of the British administration, that a liberal policy will be one of the most effectual means of deriving advantages to their trade and manufactures from the people of the United States. It will contribute, more than any thing else, to obliterate the impressions, which have been made by their late conduct towards us.

“In a government as free as ours, where the people are at liberty, and will express their sentiments, (oftentimes imprudently, and, for want of information, sometimes unjustly,) allowances must be made for occasional effervescences ; but, after the declaration which I have here made of my political creed, you can run no hazard in as-



serting, that the executive branch of this government never has suffered, nor will suffer, while I preside, any improper conduct of its officers to escape with impunity, nor give its sanctions to any disorderly proceedings of its citizens.

“By a firm adherence to these principles, and to the neutral policy which has been adopted, I have brought on myself a torrent of abuse in the factious papers in this country, and from the enmity of the discontented of all descriptions. But, having no sinister objects in view, I shall not be diverted from my course by these, nor any attempts which are, or shall be made to withdraw the confidence of my constituents from me. I have nothing to ask ; and, discharging my duty, I have nothing to fear from invective. The acts of my administration will appear when I am no more, and the intelligent and candid part of mankind will not condemn my conduct without recurring to them.

“The treaty entered into with Great Britain has, as you have been informed, undergone much and severe animadversion ; and, though a more favorable one were to have been wished, which the policy perhaps of Great Britain might have granted, yet its demerits are not to be estimated by the opposition it has received ; nor is this opposition sanctioned by the great body of the yeomanry in these States. They, whatever their opinions of it may be, are disposed to leave the decision where the Constitution has placed it. But an occasion was wanting, and the instrument, by those who required it, was deemed well calculated, for the purpose of working upon the affections of the people of this country towards those of France, whose interests and rights under our treaty with that nation they represented as being violated ; and, with the aid of the provision order, and the irritating conduct of the British ships of war and agents, as mentioned before, the means were furnished, and more pains taken, than upon any former occasion, to raise a general ferment with a view to defeat the treaty.

“But knowing that you have other correspondents, who have more leisure, and are equally capable of detailing these matters, I will leave you to them and the ga-

ettes for fuller information and a more minute account of the prevailing politics. Thanking you for the interesting intelligence and opinions, contained in your letter of the 22d August, I shall only add, that, with sincere esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, your affectionate friend."

At this time, the firmness and wisdom of Washington were put to the severest test, by the excitement which prevailed throughout the country, to a then unparalleled extent, in reference to Jay's treaty. Attempts were made to intimidate him; and, when it became probable, that, notwithstanding these attempts, it was his purpose to sign it, the most violent abuse was heaped upon him, and his administration. Washington kept himself calm, intrepid, and erect, amidst it all, as appears from passages in his correspondence, like the following:

"I feel equally obliged, by the expression of your concern for the attacks which have been made upon my administration. If the enlightened and virtuous part of the community will make allowances for my involuntary errors, I will promise that they shall have no cause to accuse me of wilful ones. Hoping for the former, I feel no concern, on account of the latter."

"I shall add no more, on this subject, and but little, on any other, at present. The gazettes, which I presume you receive, will show you, in what manner the public functionaries are treated here. The abuse, however, which some of them contain, has excited no reply from me. I have a consolation, which no earthly power can deprive me of, that of acting from my best judgement. I shall be very much mistaken, if I do not soon find, that the public mind is recovering fast from the disquietude into which it has been thrown by the most wilful, artful, and malignant, misrepresentations that can be imagined. The current is certainly turned, and is beginning to run strong the other way."

But the agitating and engrossing nature of the public engagements, by which he was surrounded, did not prevent his faithful remembrance of the claims of private friendship. He thus writes to Thomas Pinckney, then at Madrid:

“ Since the re-confinement of M. de Lafayette, (after the attempt made by Dr. Bollmann and Mr. Huger, both of whom are now in this city, to effect his escape,) we have heard nothing further respecting him, than that his confinement is more rigorous than before. We know, indeed, that Madame de Lafayette and his two daughters have been at Hamburg ; that it was reported they were coming to America, but that, instead of doing so, they went to Vienna, to try the effect of personal solicitation to obtain his release. Newspaper accounts go further, and say, they were permitted to proceed to Olmutz. But how far, the latter information is to be depended upon, and, if true, what has been, or will be, the result, is altogether unknown to me.

“ I need hardly mention, how much my sensibility has been hurt by the treatment this gentleman has met with, or how anxious I am to see him liberated therefrom ; but what course to pursue, as most likely and proper to aid the measure, is not quite so easy to decide on. As President of the United States, there must be a commitment of the government by any interference of mine ; and it is no easy matter, in a transaction of this nature, for a public character to assume the garb of a private citizen, in a case that does not relate to himself. Yet, such is my wish to contribute my mite to accomplish this desirable object, that I have no objection to its being made known to the Imperial ambassador in London, who, if he thinks proper, may communicate it to his court, that this event is an ardent wish of the people of the United States, to which I sincerely add mine. The time, the manner, and even the measure itself, I leave to your discretion ; as circumstances, and every matter which concerns this gentleman, are better known on that, than they are on this, side of the Atlantic.”

“ *To Alexander Hamilton.*

“ Philadelphia, 31 March, 1796.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I do not know how to thank you sufficiently, for the trouble you have taken to dilate on the request of the House of Representatives, for the papers

relative to the British treaty ; nor how to apologize for the trouble, much greater than I had any idea of giving, which you have taken to show the impropriety of that request.

“ I had, from the first moment, and from the fullest conviction in my own mind, resolved to *resist the principle*, which was evidently intended to be established by the call of the House of Representatives ; and only deliberated on the manner, in which this could be done with the least bad consequences.

“ To effect this, three modes presented themselves to me. First, a denial of the papers *in toto*, assigning concise but cogent reasons for that denial ; secondly, to grant them in whole ; or, thirdly, in part ; accompanied in both the last-mentioned cases with a pointed protest against the right of the House to control treaties, or to call for papers without specifying their object, and against the compliance being drawn into a precedent.

“ I had as little hesitation in deciding, that the first was the most tenable ground ; but, from the peculiar circumstances of this case, it merited consideration, if the *principle* could be saved, whether facility in the provisions might not result from a compliance. An attentive examination of the subject and papers, however, soon convinced me, that to furnish *all* the papers would be highly improper, and that a partial delivery of them would leave the door open for as much calumny as a refusal of them altogether, perhaps more, as it might, and I have no doubt would be said, that all such as were essential to the purposes of the House were withheld.

“ Under these impressions I proceeded, with the heads of departments and the Attorney-General, to collect materials and to prepare an answer, subject however to revision and change, according to circumstances. This was ready on Monday, and proposed to be sent in on Tuesday ; but it was delayed until I should hear from you, which happened on that day about noon. This induced a further postponement until yesterday, notwithstanding the apparent and anxious solicitude, which was visible in all quarters to learn the result of the application.

“ Finding that the draught, which I had prepared, embraced most, if not all, the principles which were detailed in yours of yesterday, though not the reasonings ; that it would take considerable time to copy yours ; and, above all, having understood, that, if the papers were refused, a fresh demand, with strictures upon my conduct, was to be expected, I sent in the answer which was ready, and have reserved yours, as a copious resource, in case the matter should go any further.

“ I could not be satisfied, without giving you this short explanation of the business, expressing, again, my sincere thanks for the pains you have taken to investigate this subject, and to assure you, over and over, of the warmth of my friendship, and of the affectionate regard, with which I am, &c.”

The refusal of President Washington, to comply with the call of the House of Representatives, for the papers relative to Jay's treaty, was one of the greatest acts of his public life. He thus vindicates it, with unanswerable clearness and force, in a letter to a friend, of May 1, 1796:

“ The present, however, is one of those great occasions, than which none more important has occurred, or may occur again, to call forth their decision ; and to them the appeal is now made. No candid man, in the least degree acquainted with the progress of this business, will believe, for a moment, that the *ostensible* dispute was about papers, or whether the British treaty was a good one, or a bad one ; but, whether there should be a treaty at all, without the concurrence of the House of Representatives. This was striking, at once, and that boldly, too, at the fundamental principles of the Constitution ; and, if it were established, would render the treaty-making power, not only a nullity, but such an absolute absurdity, as to reflect disgrace on the framers of it. For will any one suppose, that they who framed, or those who adopted, that instrument, ever intended to give the power to the President and Senate, to make treaties, and declaring, that, when made and ratified, they should be the supreme law of the land, would, in the same breath, place it in the power of the House of Representatives to fix their

vote on them ; unless apparent marks of fraud or corruption (which, in equity, would set aside any contract) accompanied the measure, or such striking evidence of National injury attended their adoption, as to make a war, or any other evil, preferable ? Every unbiassed mind will answer in the negative.

“ What the source and what the object of all this struggle is, I submit to my fellow-citizens. Charity would lead one to hope, that the motives to it have been pure. Suspicions, however, speak a different language, and my tongue, for the present, shall be silent. Such further information on this head, or any other of similar importance, which may come to your knowledge, and which your leisure and inclination may enable you to give, will be very acceptable to, dear Sir, yours, &c.”

“ *To John Jay, Governor of New York.*

“ Philadelphia, 8 May, 1796.

“ SIR,—You judged very right when, in your letter of the 18th ultimo, you observed, that I can have but very little time for private letter-writing ; but, if my friends will put up with the hasty and indigested ones I can write under such circumstances, there are a few, among whom permit me the gratification to place you, with whom I should feel very happy to correspond, and, while I hold my present office, to learn their sentiments upon any of the important measures, which come before the executive of the United States.

“ I am sure the mass of citizens in these United States mean well, and I firmly believe they will always *act well* whenever they can obtain a right understanding of matters ; but in some parts of the Union, where the sentiments of their delegates and leaders are adverse to the government, and great pains are taken to inculcate a belief, that their rights are assailed and their liberties endangered, it is not easy to accomplish this ; especially, as is the case invariably, when the inventors and abettors of pernicious measures use infinitely more industry in disseminating the poison, than the well-disposed part of the community in furnishing the antidote. To this source

all our discontents may be traced, and from it all our embarrassments proceed. Hence serious misfortunes, originating in misrepresentation, frequently flow, and spread, before they can be dissipated by truth.

“ These things do, as you have supposed, fill my mind with much concern and with serious anxiety. Indeed, the trouble and perplexities which they occasion, added to the weight of years, which have passed over me, have worn away my mind more than my body, and render ease and retirement indispensably necessary to both, during the short time I have to stay here. It would be uncandid, therefore, and would discover a want of friendship and confidence, as you have expressed a solicitude for my at least riding out the storm, not to add, that nothing short of events, or such imperious circumstances, as I hope and trust will not happen, and might render a retreat dishonorable, will prevent the public annunciation of it in time to obviate a misapplication of votes, at the election of President and Vice President of the United States in December next, upon myself.”

“ *To the Emperor of Germany.*

“ Philadelphia, 15 May, 1796.

“ It will readily occur to your Majesty, that occasions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive, in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility, and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present, I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your Majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

“ In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis de Lafayette ; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family in their misfortunes, and endeavor to mitigate the calamities which they experience ; among which, his present confinement is not the least distressing.

“I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your Majesty’s consideration, whether his long imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estates, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings, which recommend him to the mediation of humanity? Allow me, sir, on this occasion to be its organ; and to entreat, that he may be permitted to come to this country, on such conditions and under such restrictions, as your Majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

“As it is a maxim with me not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your Majesty will do me the justice to believe, that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom, which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory.

“May the Almighty and Merciful Sovereign of the universe keep your Majesty under his protection and guidance.”

“*To Thomas Pinckney.*

“Philadelphia, 22 May, 1796.

“DEAR SIR,—To my letters of the 20th of February and 5th of March I beg leave to refer you for the disclosure of my sentiments on the subjects then mentioned to you. Very soon afterwards a long and animated discussion in the House of Representatives respecting the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great Britain, took place, and continued in one shape or another until the last of April, suspending in a manner all other business, and agitating the public mind in a higher degree than it has been at any period since the Revolution. And nothing, I believe, but the torrent of petitions and remonstrances, which were pouring in from all the eastern and middle States, and were beginning to come pretty strongly from that of Virginia, requiring the necessary provisions for carrying the treaty into effect, would have produced a division (fifty-one to forty-eight) in favor of the appropriation.



“But as the debates, which I presume will be sent to you from the department of State, will give you a view of this business more in detail than I am able to do, I shall refer you to them. The enclosed speech, however, made by Mr. Ames at the close of the discussion, I send to you ; because, in the opinion of most, who heard it delivered or have read it since, his reasoning is unanswerable.

“In my letter of the 20th of February, I expressed in pretty strong terms my sensibility on account of the situation of the Marquis de Lafayette. This is increased by the visible distress of his son, who is now with me, and grieving for the unhappy fate of his parents. This circumstance, giving a poignancy to my own feelings, has induced me to go a step further than I did in the letter above mentioned, as you will perceive by the enclosed address (a copy of which is also transmitted for your information) to the Emperor of Germany, to be forwarded by you in such a manner, and under such auspices, as in your judgement shall be deemed best ; or to be withheld, if from the evidence before you, derived from former attempts, it shall appear clear that it would be of no avail to send it.

“Before I close this letter, permit me to request the favor of you to embrace some favorable occasion to thank Lord Grenville in my behalf, for his politeness in causing a special permit to be sent to Liverpool for the shipment of two sacks of field peas, and the like quantity of winter vetches, which I had requested our consul at that place to send me for seed, but which it seems could not be done without an order from government ; a circumstance which did not occur to me, or I certainly should not have given the trouble of issuing one for such a trifle.”

In June, 1796, the President went to Mount Vernon, where he continued for more than two months. He kept up a constant correspondence with his Secretaries, and held himself ever in readiness to return to the seat of Government, if his presence should be needed.

During this visit to Mount Vernon, the following letter

was written to Thomas Jefferson. It brought the correspondence, which, from time to time, had taken place between them, to a final close.

“ Mount Vernon, 6 July, 1796.

“ DEAR SIR,—When I inform you, that your letter of the 19th ultimo went to Philadelphia and returned to this place before it was received by me, it will be admitted, I am persuaded, as an apology for my not having acknowledged the receipt of it sooner.

“ If I had entertained any suspicions before, that the queries, which have been published in Bache’s paper, proceeded from you, the assurances you have given of the contrary would have removed them ; but the truth is, I harbored none. I am at no loss to conjecture from what source they flowed, through what channel they were conveyed, and for what purpose they and similar publications appear. They were known to be in the hands of Mr. Parker in the early part of the last session of Congress. They were shown about by Mr. Giles during the session, and they made their public exhibition about the close of it.

“ Perceiving and probably hearing, that no abuse in the gazettes would induce me to take notice of anonymous publications against me, those, who were disposed to do me *such friendly offices*, have embraced without restraint every opportunity to weaken the confidence of the people ; and, by having the whole game in their hands, they have scrupled not to publish things that do not, as well as those which do exist, and to mutilate the latter, so as to make them subserve the purposes which they have in view.

“ As you have mentioned the subject yourself, it would not be frank, candid, or friendly to conceal, that your conduct has been represented as derogating from that opinion I had conceived you entertained of me ; that, to your particular friends and connexions you have described, and they have denounced, me as a person under a dangerous influence ; and that, if I would listen more to some other opinions, all would be well. My answer in-

variably has been, that I had never discovered any thing in the conduct of Mr. Jefferson to raise suspicions in my mind of his insincerity ; that, if he would retrace my public conduct while he was in the administration, abundant proofs would occur to him, that truth and right decisions were the sole objects of my pursuit ; that there were as many instances within his own knowledge of my having decided *against* as *in favor* of the opinions of the person evidently alluded to ; and, moreover, that I was no believer in the infallibility of the politics or measures of any man living. In short, that I was no party man myself, and the first wish of my heart was, if parties did exist, to reconcile them.

“ To this I may add, and very truly, that, until within the last year or two, I had no conception that parties would or even could go the length I have been witness to ; nor did I believe until lately, that it was within the bounds of probability, hardly within those of possibility, that, while I was using my utmost exertions to establish a national character of our own, independent, as far as our obligations and justice would permit, of every nation of the earth, and wished, by steering a steady course, to preserve this country from the horrors of a desolating war, I should be accused of being the enemy of one nation, and subject to the influence of another ; and, to prove it, that every act of my administration would be tortured, and the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations of them be made, by giving one side only of a subject, and that too in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket. But enough of this. I have already gone further in the expression of my feelings than I intended.

“ Mrs. Washington begs you to accept her best wishes, and, with very great esteem and regard,

“ I am, dear sir, yours, &c.”

*" To John H. Stone, Governor of Maryland.*

*" Philadelphia, 23 December, 1796.*

" DEAR SIR,—Yesterday I received your letter of the 16th instant, covering the resolutions of the Senate and House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, passed on the 13th and 14th. The very obliging and friendly terms, in which you have made this communication, merit my sincere thanks.

" The manner, in which the two branches of the Legislature of Maryland have expressed their sense of my services, is too honorable and too affectionate ever to be forgotten. Without assigning to my exertions the extensive influence they are pleased to ascribe to them, I may with great truth say, that the exercise of every faculty I possessed was joined to the efforts of the virtue, talents, and valor of my fellow-citizens to effect our independence ; and I concur with the Legislature in repeating with pride and joy, what will be an everlasting honor to our country, that our Revolution was so distinguished for moderation, virtue, and humanity, as to merit the eulogium they have pronounced, of being unsullied with a crime.

" With the same entire devotion to my country, every act of my civil administration has been aimed to secure to it the advantages, which result from a stable and free government ; and, with gratitude to Heaven, I unite with the Legislature of Maryland in the pleasing reflection, that our country has continued to feel the blessings of peace, liberty, and prosperity, whilst Europe and the Indies have been convulsed with the horrors of a dreadful and desolating war. My ardent prayers are offered, that those afflicted regions may now speedily see their calamities terminated, and also feel the blessings of returning peace.

" I cannot omit my acknowledgements to the Senate and House of Delegates for the manner in which they have noticed my late Address to my fellow-citizens. This notice, with similar acts in other States, leads me to hope that the advice, which therein I took the liberty to offer as the result of much experience and reflection, may produce some good.

“ Their kind wishes for my domestic happiness, in my contemplated retirement, are entitled to my cordial thanks.

“ If it shall please God to prolong a life already far advanced into the vale of years, no attending felicity can equal that, which I shall feel in seeing the administration of our government operating to preserve the independence, prosperity, and welfare of the American people. With great respect and consideration, I am, dear sir, &c.”

“ *To Henry Knox.*

“ Philadelphia, 2 March, 1797.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—Amongst the last acts of my political life, and before I go hence into retirement, profound will be the acknowledgement of your kind and affectionate letter from Boston, dated the 15th of January.

“ From the friendship I have always borne to you, and from the interest I have ever taken in whatever relates to your prosperity and happiness, I participated in the sorrows, which I know you must have felt for your late heavy losses. But it is not for man to scan the wisdom of Providence. The best we can do, is to submit to its decrees. Reason, religion, and philosophy teach us to do this ; but it is time alone, that can ameliorate the pangs of humanity and soften its woes.

“ To the wearied traveller, who sees a resting-place, and is bending his body to lean thereon, I now compare myself ; but to be suffered to do this in peace, is too much to be endured by some. To misrepresent my motives, to reprobate my politics, and to weaken the confidence which has been reposed in my administration, are objects, which cannot be relinquished by those who will be satisfied with nothing short of a change in our political system. The consolation, however, which results from conscious rectitude, and the approving voice of my country, unequivocally expressed by its representatives, deprive their sting of its poison, and place in the same point of view both the weakness and malignity of their efforts.

“ Although the prospect of retirement is most grateful to my soul, and I have not a wish to mix again in the

great world, or to partake in its politics, yet I am not without my regrets at parting with (perhaps never more to meet) the few intimates, whom I love, and among these, be assured, you are one.

“The account, given by Mr. Bingham and others, of your agreeable situation and prospects at St. George’s, gave me infinite pleasure ; and no one wishes more sincerely than I do, that they may increase with your years. The remainder of my life, which in the course of nature cannot be long, will be occupied in rural amusements ; and, though I shall seclude myself as much as possible from the noisy and bustling crowd, none would more than myself be regaled by the company of those I esteem, at Mount Vernon ; more than twenty miles from which, after I arrive there, it is not likely that I ever shall be.

“As early in next week as I can make arrangements for it, I shall commence my journey for Mount Vernon. To-morrow at dinner I shall, as a servant of the public, take my leave of the President elect, of the foreign characters, the heads of departments, &c., and the day following, with pleasure, I shall witness the inauguration of my successor to the chair of government.

“On the subject of politics I shall say nothing. You will have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with many of the legislators, from whom, so far as it relates to the proceedings of their own body, you can learn the details. The gazettes will furnish the rest.

“Mrs. Washington unites with me in every good wish for you, Mrs. Knox, and family ; and, with unfeigned truth, I am yours always and affectionately.”

“*To Jonathan Trumbull.*

“Philadelphia, 3 March, 1797.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Before the curtain drops on my political life, which it will do this evening I expect for ever, I shall acknowledge, although it be in a few hasty lines only, the receipt of your kind and affectionate letter of the 23d of January last.

“When I add, that according to custom all the acts of the session, excepting two or three very unimportant

bills, have been presented to me within the last four days, you will not be surprised at the pressure under which I write at present. But it must astonish others, who know that the Constitution allows the President ten days to deliberate on each bill which is brought before him, that he should be allowed by the Legislature less than half of that time to consider all the business of the session; and, in some instances, scarcely an hour to revolve the most important. But as the scene is closing with me, it is of little avail now to let it be with murmurs.

“ I should be very unhappy, if I thought, that my relinquishing the reins of government would produce any of the consequences, which your fears forebode. In all free governments, contentions in elections will take place, and, whilst it is confined to our own citizens, it is not to be regretted; but severely indeed ought it to be reprobated, when occasioned by foreign machinations. I trust, however, that the good sense of our countrymen will guard the public weal against this and every other innovation, and that, although we may be a little wrong now and then, we shall return to the right path with more avidity. I can never believe, that Providence, which has guided us so long and through such a labyrinth, will withdraw its protection at this crisis.

“ Although I shall resign the chair of government without a single regret, or any desire to intermeddle in politics again, yet there are many of my compatriots, among whom be assured I place you, from whom I shall part sorrowing; because, unless I meet with them at Mount Vernon, it is not likely that I shall ever see them more, as I do not expect that I shall ever be twenty miles from it, after I am tranquilly settled there. To tell you how glad I should be to see you at that place is unnecessary. To this I will add, that it would not only give me pleasure, but pleasure also to Mrs. Washington, and others of the family with whom you are acquainted, and who all unite, in every good wish for you and yours, with, dear sir, &c.”

*" To Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State.*

*" Philadelphia, 8 March, 1797.*

" DEAR SIR,—At the conclusion of my public employments, I have thought it expedient to notice the publication of certain forged letters, which first appeared in the year 1777, and were obtruded upon the public as mine. They are said by the editor to have been found in a small portmanteau, that I had left in the care of my mulatto servant, named Billy, who, it is pretended, was taken prisoner at Fort Lee, in 1776. The period, when these letters were first printed, will be recollected, and what were the impressions they were intended to produce on the public mind. It was then supposed to be of some consequence to strike at the integrity of the motives of the American Commander-in-chief, and to paint his inclinations as at variance with his professions and his duty. Another crisis in the affairs of America having occurred, the same weapon has been resorted to, to wound my character and deceive the people.

" The letters in question have the dates, addresses, and signatures here following.

" 'New York, June 12th, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington, at Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia.

" 'G. W.'

" 'To John Parke Custis, Esq., at the Hon. Benedict Calvert's, Esquire, Mount Airy, Maryland, June 18th, 1776.

GEO. WASHINGTON.'

" 'New York, July 8th, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington, at Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia.

" 'G. W.'

" 'New York, July 15th, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington.

G. W.'

" 'New York, July 16th, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington.

G. W.'

" 'New York, July 22d, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington.

G. W.'

" 'June 24th, 1776. To Mrs. Washington. G. W.'

" At the time, when these letters first appeared, it was notorious to the army immediately under my com-



mand, and particularly to the gentlemen attached to my person, that my mulatto man Billy had never been one moment in the power of the enemy. It is also a fact, that no part of my baggage, nor any of my attendants, were captured during the whole course of the war. These well-known facts made it unnecessary, during the war, to call the public attention to the forgery, by any express declaration of mine ; and a firm reliance on my fellow-citizens, and the abundant proofs, which they gave of their confidence in me, rendered it alike unnecessary to take any formal notice of the revival of the imposition during my civil administration. But, as I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that, which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty, that I owed to myself, to my country, and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited ; and to add my solemn declaration, that the letters herein described are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them until they appeared in print.

“ The present letter I commit to your care, and desire that it may be deposited in the office of the department of State, as a testimony of the truth to the present generation and to posterity. Accept, I pray you, the sincere esteem and affectionate regard of, dear sir, &c.”

On the 4th of March, 1797, John Adams was inaugurated, having been elected President of the United States. In his Address, Mr. Adams, after alluding to the administration of the preceding eight years, thus expressed his feelings towards his predecessor :

“ A citizen, who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude, conducting a people inspired with the same virtues, and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty, to independence and peace, to increasing wealth and unexampled prosperity, has merited the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

“ In that retirement which is his voluntary choice, may he long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his ser-

vices, the gratitude of mankind, the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily increasing, and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of his country, which is opening from year to year. His name may be still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark, against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace."

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### *Washington's final Retirement from Public Life.*

Soon after this, Washington retired to his residence at Mount Vernon. As he withdrew from the cares of office, he was followed, as ever before, with the love and gratitude of his countrymen. He had now completed his glory, and had added to the fame of a military conqueror, in the cause of liberty, the greater and more difficult distinction, of a most profound statesman. The imaginations of men could conceive of nothing that could enhance his reputation, and the people of America felt, with one heart, and acknowledged, with one voice, that the measure of his public services had been filled to overflowing, and that he had done all that could be asked of a patriot, hero, and ruler. As they parted from him for this, as it proved, last time, they raised one wide-spread universal prayer to Heaven, that the remainder of his days might be spent in rest and peace. The sentiment which pervaded the country, at that moment, was the same which an old soldier was heard to utter, overpowered by the excitement of the occasion, when he had beheld Washington's first inauguration, as President of the United States. "I have beheld him when commanding the American armies ; I saw him at the conclusion of the war, returning to the bosom of his family in his rural habitation, and now I behold him in the chair of the Presidency. I have not another wish, but that he may die, as he has lived, the

**BELLOVED OF HIS COUNTRY."**

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That wish was gratified. To his dying hour he continued to increase his claims to the love and veneration of all mankind.

While there is every reason to believe that the country could not have spared Washington any earlier, from the head of the government of the Union, there was a general acquiescence in his retirement at last, arising from a confident belief that, under his wise and beneficent influence, the country had grown into a state of solidity and firmness, which would enable it to dispense with his services, and allow him to return to the retirement, for which, it was known, his heart longed, and which he had earned a right to enjoy. This opinion was well founded. The ligaments of the Union had then become so closely inserted and interlaced, as time has shown, that neither domestic dissension nor foreign war could sever it. The perils of the coast were passed; the ship of state was fairly out with an open sea before her; the tempest that had threatened to destroy her, at the very commencement of her voyage, was abating, and she safely dismissed to his home the only pilot who could have weathered the storm.

Some time before the conclusion of his Presidency, he published a Farewell Address to his countrymen, to which allusion is made in his letter of December 23d, 1796, to the Governor of Maryland, inserted on page 253 of this volume. This document is justly regarded as a precious memorial of his patriotism, and as an invaluable directory to patriots, citizens, and statesmen. It will be found in the Appendix to this work.

The residue of Washington's life will be illustrated by the following passages from his correspondence:

Writing to Mr. McHenry, Secretary of War, from Mount Vernon, April 3, 1797, he thus describes his return home, and his situation there.

"We got home without accident, and found the roads dryer and better, than I ever found them at that season of the year. The attentions we met with, on our journey, were very flattering, and, to some, whose minds are differently formed from mine, would have been highly rel-

rshed ; but I avoided, in every instance, where I had any previous knowledge of the intention, and could by earnest entreaties prevail, all parade and escorts. Mrs. Washington took a violent cold in Philadelphia, which hangs upon her still ; but it is not as bad as it has been.\*

“ I find myself in the situation nearly of a new beginner ; for, although I have not houses to build, (except one, which I must erect for the accommodation and security of my military, civil, and private, papers, which are voluminous, and may be interesting,) yet I have scarcely any thing else about me, that does not require considerable repairs. In a word, I am already surrounded by joiners, masons, and painters ; and, such is my anxiety to get out of their hands, that I have scarcely a room to put a friend into, or to sit in, myself, without the music of hammers, or the odoriferous scent of paint.”

To another correspondent he writes :

“ For myself, having turned aside from the broad walks of political, into the narrow paths of private, life, I shall leave it with those whose duty it is, to consider subjects of this sort, and, as every good citizen ought to do, conform to whatsoever the ruling powers shall decide. To make and sell a little flour, annually, to repair houses, (going fast to ruin,) to build one, for the security of my papers of a public nature, and to amuse myself in agricultural and rural pursuits, will constitute employment for the few years I have to remain on this terrestrial globe. If also, I could, now and then, meet the friends I esteem, it would fill the measure, and add zest to my enjoyments ;

\* “ The following extract is from a Baltimore paper, dated March 13th.—‘ Last evening arrived in this city, on his way to Mount Vernon, the illustrious object of veneration and gratitude, GEORGE WASHINGTON. His Excellency was accompanied by his lady and Miss Custis, and by the son of the unfortunate Lafayette and his preceptor. At a distance from the city, he was met by a crowd of citizens, on horse and foot, who thronged the road to greet him, and by a detachment from Captain Hollingsworth’s troop, who escorted him in through as great a concourse of people as Baltimore ever witnessed. On alighting at the Fountain Inn, the General was saluted with reiterated and thundering huzzas from the spectators. His Excellency, with the companions of his journey, leaves town we understand this morning.’ ”

but if ever this happens, it must be under my own vine and fig-tree ; as I do not think it probable that I shall go beyond twenty miles from them."

To another correspondent he repeats the same interesting sentiments, in reference to his retirement, and the happiness he found in it :

"Retired from noise myself, and the responsibility attached to public employment, my hours will glide smoothly on. My best wishes, however, for the prosperity of our country will always have the first place in my thoughts ; while to repair buildings, and to cultivate my farms, which require close attention, will occupy the few years, perhaps days, I may be a sojourner here, as I am now in the sixty-sixth year of my peregrination through life."

In a letter to a friend, May 29th, he says :

"I begin my diurnal course, with the sun ; if my hirelings are not in their places, at that time, I send them messages of sorrow for their indisposition ; having put these wheels in motion, I examine the state of things, further. The more they are probed, the deeper I find the wounds, which my buildings have sustained by an absence and neglect of eight years ; by the time I have accomplished these matters, breakfast (a little after seven o'clock) is ready ; this being over, I mount my horse, and ride round my farms, which employs me until it is time to dress for dinner, at which I rarely miss seeing strange faces, come, as they say, out of respect for me. Pray, would not the word curiosity answer as well ? And how different this, from having a few social friends at a cheerful board ! The usual time of sitting at table, a walk, and tea, bring me within the dawn of candlelight ; previous to which, if not prevented by company, I resolve, that, as soon as the glimmering taper supplies the place of the great luminary, I will retire to my writing-table and acknowledge the letters I have received ; but, when the lights are brought, I feel tired, and disinclined to engage in this work, conceiving that the next night will do as well. The next night comes, and, with it, the same causes for postponement, and so on.

"This will account for your letter remaining so long unacknowledged ; and, having given you the history of a

day, it will serve for a year, and I am persuaded you will not require a second edition of it. But it may strike you, that in this detail no mention is made of any portion of time allotted for reading. The remark would be just, for I have not looked into a book since I came home ; nor shall I be able to do it until I have discharged my workmen, probably not before the nights grow longer, when possibly I may be looking in Domsday-Book. At present I shall only add, that I am always and affectionately yours."

The celebrated Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine, having sent him a copy of his '*View of the Causes and Consequences of the present War with France,*' he acknowledged it in a letter, of which the following is a part :

"To have so conducted my steps in the intricate walks of public life, and through a long course, as to meet the approbation of my country and the esteem of good men, is, next to the consciousness of having acted in all things from my best judgement, the highest gratification of which my mind is susceptible, and will, during the remainder of a life, which is hastening to an end, and in moments of retirement better adapted to calm reflection than I have hitherto experienced, alleviate the pain and soften any cares, which are yet to be encountered, though hid from me at present.

"For me to express my sentiments with respect to the administration of the concerns of another government, might incur a charge of stepping beyond the line of prudence ; but the principles of humanity will justify an avowal of my regret, and I do regret exceedingly, that any causes whatever should have produced, and continued until this time, a war, more bloody, more expensive, more calamitous, and more pregnant with events, than modern or perhaps any other times can furnish an example of. And I most sincerely and devoutly wish, that your exertions, and those of others having the same object in view, may effect what human nature cries aloud for, a general peace. I have the honor to be, sir, &c."

His correspondence with the Earl of Radnor shows the estimation in which he was held, abroad, and also illustrates his situation and feelings, at the time.

*“ To General Washington.*

“ SIR,—Though of necessity a stranger to you, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction, among the many who will, probably, even from this country, intrude upon your retirement, of offering to you my congratulations on your withdrawing yourself from the scene of public affairs, with a character, which appears to be perfectly unrivalled in history. The voluntary resignation of authority, wielded, as it was, while you thought fit to wield it, for the advantage of your country, in the universal opinion of mankind, confirms the judgement I had presumed to form of your moderation, and completes the glory of your life.

“ Permit me, sir, who, enlisted in no political party, have, as a public man, looked up to you with veneration ; who have seen the beginning of your career against England with approbation, because I felt England was unjust ; who have seen you discontinue your hostility towards England, when, in good faith, she was no longer acting as an enemy to America, by honest counsels endeavoring to be as closely connected in amity, as she is by natural and mutual interests ; who have seen you the instrument, in the hand of Providence, of wresting from the British Parliament an influence destructive of the just rights of both countries, and of establishing the independence of America, which, I am persuaded, will continually, if your principles and your wisdom shall actuate your successors, be the means of securing them, respectively, to us both ; who have seen you, in adversity and prosperity, alike, the good, the firm, the moderate, the disinterested, patriot ; permit me, I say, as an Englishman and as a man, to rejoice at the completion of such a character, and to offer my unfeigned wishes for a peaceful evening of your life, and the realization (as is my sincere belief) of your posthumous fame, and your eternal happiness.

“ I have the honor to subscribe myself, &c.”

“ RADNOR.

“ *Longford Castle, 19th January, 1797.*”

"MY LORD,—The sentiments, which your lordship has been pleased to express, in your favor of the 19th of January last, relative to my public conduct, do me great honor ; and I pray you to accept my grateful acknowledgement of the unequivocal evidence, conveyed in your letter, of the favorable opinion you entertain of the principles by which it was actuated.

"For having performed duties, which I conceive every country has a right to require of its citizens, I claim no merit ; but no man can feel, more sensibly, the reward of approbation for such services, than I do. Next to the consciousness of having acted faithfully, in discharging the several trusts to which I have been called, the thanks of one's country and the esteem of good men are the highest gratification my mind is susceptible of.

"At the age of sixty-five, I am now recommencing my agricultural and rural pursuits, which were always more congenial to my temper and disposition, than the noise and bustle of public employments ; notwithstanding so small a portion of my life has been engaged in the former.\*

"I reciprocate, with great cordiality, the good wishes you have been pleased to bestow on me, and pray, devoutly, that we may both witness, and that shortly, the return of peace ; for a more bloody, expensive, and eventful, war is not recorded in modern, if to be found in ancient, history."

*"To General Thaddeus Kosciuszko.*

*"Mount Vernon, 31 August, 1797.*

"DEAR SIR,—Having just been informed of your safe arrival in America, I was on the point of writing to you a congratulatory letter on the occasion, welcoming you to the land, whose liberties you had been so instrumental in establishing, when I received your favor of the 23d instant, from Philadelphia ; for which, and the packet that you had the goodness to bear from Sir John Sinclair, I offer you my thanks.

\* For a more particular account of Washington's character, as an agriculturalist, than is given in the body of this work, the reader is referred to the second article in the Appendix.



"I beg you to be assured, that no one has a higher respect and veneration for your character, than I have ; and no one more sincerely wished, during your arduous struggle in the cause of liberty and your country, that it might be crowned with success. But the ways of Providence are inscrutable, and mortals must submit.

"I pray you to believe, that at all times, and under any circumstances, it would make me happy to see you at my last retreat, from which I never expect to be more than twenty miles again. With great esteem, I remain, dear sir, &c."

*" To General Lafayette.*

*" Mount Vernon, 8 October, 1797.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—This letter I hope and expect will be presented to you by your son, who is highly deserving of such parents as you and your amiable lady.

"He can relate, much better than I can describe, my participation in your sufferings, my solicitude for your relief, the measures I adopted, though ineffectual, to facilitate your liberation from an unjust and cruel imprisonment, and the joy I experienced at the news of its accomplishment. I shall hasten, therefore, to congratulate you, and be assured that no one can do it with more cordiality, with more sincerity, or with greater affection, on the restoration of that liberty, which every act of your life entitles you to the enjoyment of ; and I hope I may add, to the uninterrupted possession of your estates, and the confidence of your country. The repossession of these things, though they cannot compensate for the hardships you have endured, may nevertheless soften the painful remembrance of them.

"From the delicate and responsible situation in which I stood as a public officer, but more especially from a misconception of the manner in which your son had left France, till explained to me in a personal interview with himself, he did not come immediately into my family on his arrival in America, though he was assured in the first moments of it, of my protection and support. His conduct, since he first set his feet on American ground, has

been exemplary in every point of view, such as has gained him the esteem, affection, and confidence of all who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His filial affection and duty, and his ardent desire to embrace his parents and sisters in the first moments of their release, would not allow him to wait the authentic account of this much-desired event ; but, at the same time that I suggested the propriety of this, I could not withhold my assent to the gratification of his wishes to fly to the arms of those whom he holds most dear, persuaded as he is, from the information he has received, that he shall find you all in Paris.

“ M. Frestel has been a true Mentor to George. No parent could have been more attentive to a favorite son ; and he richly merits all that can be said of his virtues, of his good sense, and of his prudence. Both your son and he carry with them the vows and regrets of this family, and all who know them. And you may be assured, that yourself never stood higher in the affections of the people of this country, than at the present moment.

“ Having bid a final adieu to the walks of public life, and meaning to withdraw myself from politics, I shall refer you to M. Frestel and George, who, at the same time that they have, from prudential considerations, avoided all interference in the politics of the country, cannot have been inattentive observers of what was passing among us, to give you a general view of our situation, and of the party, which, in my opinion, has disturbed the peace and tranquillity of it. And with sentiments of the highest regard for you, your lady, and daughters, and with assurances, that, if inclination or events should induce you or any of them to visit America, no person in it would receive you with more cordiality and affection, than Mrs. Washington and myself, both of us being most sincerely and affectionately attached to you and admirers of them, I am yours, ever, &c.”

*“ To William Gordon.*

*“ Mount Vernon, 13 October, 1797.*

“ REVEREND SIR,—Your favor of the 20th of February has been received, and I am indebted to you for many other unacknowledged letters. The truth is, I soon found, after entering upon the duties of my late public station, that private correspondences did not accord with official duties ; and, being determined to perform the latter to the best of my abilities, I early relinquished the former, when business was not the subject of them.

“ Rural employments, while I am spared, which in the natural course of things cannot be long, will now take the place of toil, responsibility, and the solicitude attending the walks of public life ; and with a desire for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of a country, in whose services the prime of my life has been spent, and with best wishes for the tranquillity of all nations and all men, the scene to me will close ; grateful to that Providence, which has directed my steps, and shielded me in the various changes and chances through which I have passed from my youth to the present moment.

“ I scarcely know what you allude to in your letter, when you say, ‘ I observed in the Philadelphia papers mention made of a publication of a volume of your Epistles, Domestic, Confidential, and Official,’ unless it be the spurious letters, which issued from a certain press in New York during the war, with a view to destroy the confidence, which the army and community might have had in my political principles, and which have lately been republished, with greater eagerness and perseverance than ever, to answer the same nefarious purpose.

“ I suffered every attack, that was made upon my executive conduct, (the one just mentioned among the rest,) to pass unnoticed while I remained in public office, well knowing, that, if the general tenor of it would not stand the test of investigation, a newspaper vindication would be of little avail ; but, as immense pains have been taken to disseminate these counterfeit letters, I conceived it a justice due to my own character and to posterity to dis-

avow them in explicit terms ; and this I did in a letter directed to the Secretary of State, to be filed in his office, the day on which I closed my administration. This letter has since been published in the gazettes by the head of that department.

“ With respect to your own request, I can say nothing. So many things are continually given to the public, of which I have no previous knowledge, nor time indeed to inspect them if I had been informed, that I may mistake the meaning of it. The late Secretary of State, now Vice President, permitted a Mr. Carey, my consent having first been obtained, to take copies under his inspection of the letters I had written to Congress, which letters have since been published, and are, I presume, genuine, and must be those which you refer to. But as they are the work of another, who is now in England on this business, I cannot suppose that you had it in contemplation to derive a benefit from his labors. I shall only add, therefore, that discretion in matters of this sort must be your guide, without a yea or nay from me.

“ For politics I shall refer you to the gazettes of this country, with which I presume you are acquainted, and with respect to other matters I have nothing, which would be entertaining or worth narrating. Mrs. Washington unites with me in best wishes for the health and happiness of yourself and Mrs. Gordon. I am, with esteem and respect, sir, &c.”

“ *To Mrs. S. Fairfax.*

“ Mount Vernon, 16 May, 1798.

“ MY DEAR MADAM,—Five and twenty years have nearly passed away, since I have considered myself as permanently residing at this place, or have been in a situation to indulge myself in a familiar intercourse with my friends by letter or otherwise.

“ During this period, so many important events have occurred, and such changes in men and things have taken place, as the compass of a letter would give you but an inadequate idea of. None of which events, however, nor all of them together, have been able to eradicate

from my mind the recollection of those happy moments, the happiest of my life, which I have enjoyed in your company.

“Worn out in a manner by the toils of my past labor, I am again seated under my vine and fig-tree, and wish I could add, that there are none to make us afraid; but those, whom we have been accustomed to call our good friends and allies, are endeavoring, if not to make us afraid, yet to despoil us of our property, and are provoking us to acts of self-defence, which may lead to war. What will be the result of such measures, time, that faithful expositor of all things, must disclose. My wish is to spend the remainder of my days, which cannot be many, in rural amusements, free from the cares from which public responsibility is never exempt.

“Before the war, and even while it existed, although I was eight years from home at one stretch, except the *en-passant* visits made to it on my marches to and from the siege of Yorktown, I made considerable additions to my dwelling-houses, and alterations in my offices and gardens; but the dilapidation occasioned by time, and those neglects, which are coextensive with the absence of proprietors, have occupied as much of my time within the last twelve months in repairing them, as at any former period in the same space; and it is matter of sore regret, when I cast my eyes towards Belvoir, which I often do, to reflect, that the former inhabitants of it, with whom we lived in such harmony and friendship, no longer reside there, and that the ruins can only be viewed as the memento of former pleasures. Permit me to add, that I have wondered often, your nearest relations being in this country, that you should not prefer spending the evening of your life among them, rather than close the sublunary scene in a foreign country, numerous as your acquaintances may be, and sincere as the friendships you may have formed.

“A century hence, if this country keeps united, (and it is surely its policy and interest to do it,) will produce a city, though not as large as London, yet of a magnitude inferior to few others in Europe, on the banks of the Po-

tomac, where one is now establishing for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, between Alexandria and Georgetown, on the Maryland side of the river ; a situation not excelled, for commanding prospect, good water, salubrious air, and safe harbor, by any in the world ; and where elegant buildings are erecting and in forwardness for the reception of Congress in the year 1800.

“ Alexandria, within the last seven years, since the establishment of the general government, has increased in buildings, in population, in the improvement of its streets by well-executed pavements, and in the extension of its wharves, in a manner of which you can have very little idea. This show of prosperity, you will readily conceive, is owing to its commerce. The extension of that trade is occasioned, in a great degree, by the opening of the inland navigation of the Potomac River, now cleared to Fort Cumberland, upwards of two hundred miles, and by a similar attempt to accomplish the like up the Shenandoah, one hundred and eighty miles more. In a word, if this country can steer clear of European politics, stand firm on its bottom, and be wise and temperate in its government, it bids fair to be one of the greatest and happiest nations in the world.

“ Knowing that Mrs. Washington is about to give an account of the changes, which have happened in the neighborhood and in our own family, I shall not trouble you with a repetition of them. I am, &c.”

At one time it seemed probable that Washington would again be called into public life. There was strong reason to apprehend a war with France. The eyes of the country, while this event was in prospect, were at once turned to Mount Vernon, and its illustrious and venerable occupant was ready, as ever, if actually needed, to sacrifice ease, happiness, and life, and even to jeopard his precious fame, in her cause.

The following letters to President Adams and Mr. McHenry express his views :

“ *To John Adams, President of the United States.*

“ Mount Vernon, 4 July, 1798.

“ DEAR SIR,—Not being in the habit, since my return to private life, of sending regularly to the post-office, nine miles from hence, every post-day, it often happens that letters addressed to me lie longer there on that account, than they otherwise would do.

“ I have delayed no time unnecessarily since I had the honor of receiving your very obliging favor of the 22d ultimo, to thank you for the polite and flattering sentiments you have been pleased to express relatively to me, and to assure you, that, as far as it is in my power to support your administration, and to render it easy, happy, and honorable, you may command me without reserve.

“ At the epoch of my retirement, an invasion of these States by any European power, or even the probability of such an event happening in my days, was so far from being contemplated by me, that I had no conception that that or any other occurrence would arise in so short a period, which could turn my eyes from the shades of Mount Vernon. But this seems to be the age of wonders ; and it is reserved for intoxicated and lawless France (for purposes of Providence far beyond the reach of human ken) to slaughter its own citizens, and to disturb the repose of all the world besides.

“ From a view of the past and the present, and from the prospect of that which seems to be expected, it is not easy for me to decide satisfactorily on the part it might best become me to act. In case of *actual invasion* by a formidable force, I certainly should not intrench myself under the cover of age and retirement, if my services should be required by my country to assist in repelling it. And if there be good cause, which must be better known to the government than to private citizens, to expect such an event, delay in preparing for it might be dangerous, improper, and not to be justified by prudence. The uncertainty, however, of the event, in my mind, creates my embarrassment ; for I cannot fairly bring it to believe, regardless as the French are of trea-

ties and of the laws of nations, and capable as I conceive them to be of any species of despotism and injustice, that they will attempt to invade this country, after such a uniform and unequivocal expression of the sense of the people in all parts to oppose them with their lives and fortunes.

“ That they have been led to believe, by their agents and partisans amongst us, that we are a divided people, that the latter are opposed to their own government, and that a show of a small force would occasion a revolt, I have no doubt ; and how far these men, grown desperate, will further attempt to deceive, and may succeed in keeping up the deception, is problematical. Without this, the folly of the Directory in such an attempt would, I conceive, be more conspicuous, if possible, than their wickedness.

“ Having with candor made this disclosure of the state of my mind, it remains only that I should add, that to those who know me best it is best known, that, if imperious circumstances should induce me to renounce the smooth paths of retirement for the thorny ways of public life, at a period too when repose is most congenial to nature, and a calm indispensable to contemplation, it would be productive of sensations, which can be more easily conceived than expressed.

“ The difficulty in which you expect to be involved, in the choice of general officers, when you come to form the army, is certainly a serious one ; and, in a government like ours, where there are so many considerations to be attended to and combined, it will be found not a little perplexing. But, as the mode of carrying on the war against the foe that threatens must differ widely from that practised in the contest for independence, it will not be an easy matter, I conceive, to find, among the *old set* of generals, men of sufficient activity, energy, and health, and of sound politics, to train troops to the ‘ quick step,’ long marches, and severe conflicts they may have to encounter ; and, therefore, that recourse must be had, for the greater part at least, to the well-known, most experienced, best proved and intelligent officers of the late army.



“I speak with diffidence, however, on this head, having no list by me from which my memory could be refreshed. There is one thing, though, on which I can give a decided opinion ; and, as it is of the utmost importance to the public, to the army, and to the officer commanding it, be he who he may, I will take the liberty of suggesting it now. It is, that the greatest circumspection be used in appointing the general staff. If this corps is not composed of respectable characters, who have a knowledge of the duties of their respective departments, able, active, and firm, and of incorruptible integrity and prudence, and withal such as the commander-in-chief can place entire confidence in, his plans and movements, if not defeated altogether, may be so embarrassed and retarded, as to amount nearly to the same thing ; and this almost with impunity on their part.

“The opening given me in your letter is such, as has prompted me to express these sentiments with freedom ; and persuading myself, that you will ascribe them to pure motives, although they may differ from your own ideas, I have no doubt of their being well received. With the greatest respect and consideration I have the honor to be, dear sir, &c.”

“*To James McHenry, Secretary of War.*

“Mount Vernon, 4 July, 1798.

“DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 26th ultimo propounds a very serious, interesting, and important question to me ; a question that might have been answered with less delay, if I had been as much in the habit since, as before I became a private citizen, of sending regularly to the post-office on post-days for letters.

“The sentiments, which I mean to express to you in this letter on the subject of yours, shall be frank, undisguised, and explicit ; for I see, as you do, that clouds are gathering, and that a storm may ensue ; and I find, too, from a variety of hints, that my quiet under these circumstances does not promise to be of long continuance.

“It cannot be necessary for me to premise to you, or

to others, who know my sentiments as well, that, to quit the tranquil walks of retirement, and enter a boundless field of responsibility and trouble, would be productive of sensations, which a better pen than I possess would find it difficult to describe. Nevertheless, the principles by which my conduct has been actuated through life would not suffer me, in any great emergency, to withhold any services I could render, required by my country ; especially in a case, where its dearest rights are assailed by lawless ambition and intoxicated power, contrary to every principle of justice, and in violation of solemn compacts and laws, which govern all civilized nations ; and this, too, with the obvious intent to sow thick the seeds of disunion, for the purpose of subjugating the government, and destroying our independence and happiness.

“ In circumstances like these, accompanied by an actual invasion of our territorial rights, it would be difficult at any time for me to remain an idle spectator under the plea of age or retirement. With sorrow, it is true, I should quit the shades of my peaceful abode, and the ease and happiness I now enjoy, to encounter anew the turmoils of war, to which, possibly, my strength and powers might be found incompetent. These, however, should not be stumbling-blocks in *my own* way ; but there are other things highly important for me to ascertain and settle, before I could give a decided answer to your question.

“ First, the propriety in the opinion of the public, so far as that opinion has been expressed in conversation, of my appearing again on a public theatre, after declaring the sentiments I did in my Valedictory Address, of September, 1796.

“ Secondly, a conviction in my own breast, from the best information that can be obtained, that it is the wish of my country, that the military force of it should be committed to my charge ; and,

“ Thirdly, that the army now to be formed should be so appointed, as to afford a well-grounded hope of its doing honor to the country, and credit to him who commands it in the field.

“On each of these heads you must allow me to make observations.

“With respect to the first, it will readily be admitted, under the circumstances I at present am, that nothing short of an imperious call would or ought to draw me from retirement ; and, unless this was apparent, the advantages, if any are expected from the measure, would not only be weakened, but might be defeated altogether. For the opposers of government, with a view to lessen its influence, would denounce it at once as a restless act, evincing my discontent in retirement, and that my love for it was all a sham. Knowing the purity of my own intentions, such observations would make no impression on my personal feelings, but the necessity thereof in the eyes of the public ought to be unequivocal ; for it would be uncandid in me not to confess, that, although I highly approve of all the defensive and precautionary measures that have been adopted, and wish they had been more energetic, yet I cannot believe, since the *people* of this country, on whose defection the calculation was made, have come forward with such strong and unequivocal assurances to defend at all hazards their government and independence, maugre the attempts to divert them from it, that the Directory of France, intoxicated and abandoned as it is, will have the folly to invade our territorial rights, otherwise than by predatory attempts on the seaboard ; unless their agents and partisans among us, in defiance of the evidence of their senses, should still have the wickedness and address to make that government believe, that nothing but a force to give countenance to its friends is wanting to effectuate all they wish. This, sir, is my opinion, with respect to a *formidable invasion*. Perhaps, with the information and lights in possession of the executive, I might think differently.

“On the second head I shall be more concise, because, as my whole life has been dedicated to my country in one shape or another, for the poor remains of it, it is not an object to contend for ease and quiet, when all that is valuable in it is at stake, further than to be satisfied that the sacrifice I should make of these is acceptable and

desired by my country. As neither ambition, interest, nor personal gratification of any sort could induce me to quit the walks of private life, to be disappointed in the only object I should have in view would be mortifying beyond my powers of utterance. And what this public opinion and wish are, on this occasion, I know not ; for I have studiously avoided touching on the subject, lest some inference contrary to my meaning should be drawn from it.

“ I express these ideas not from affectation, for I despise every thing that carries that appearance, but from the belief, that, as it is the fashion of the present day, set or adopted by the French, (with whom we are to contend,) and with great and astonishing success too, to appoint generals of juvenile years to lead their armies, it might not be impossible, that similar ideas and wishes might pervade the minds of our citizens. And to this a fear might be added, that age may have wrought too powerfully on my body and mind, to make it advisable to commit so important a trust to my direction.

“ On the third head you must permit me to dwell a little more at large. If an army was in existence, and an officer invited to take the command of it, his course would be plain, for he would have nothing more to do than to examine the constitution of it, and to inquire into its composition, to enable him to decide ; but we have one to form, and much indeed depends on its formation. If a judicious choice is not made of the principal officers, and, above all, of the general staff, in the first instance, it never can be rectified thereafter. The character, then, of the army would be lost in the superstructure. The reputation of the commander-in-chief would sink with it, and the country be involved in inextricable expense.

“ It is impossible, I know, for the executive to be intimately acquainted with the qualifications of the battalion officers ; and perhaps, from the manner in which the volunteer corps may offer themselves, little will be left to his choice. The presumption however is, that, as these corps will be composed of respectable citizens, the officers will be good, and worthy of as much confidence as

can be placed in untried men. The great desiderata lie in the appointment of the general officers of the line, and of the staff, particularly the latter ; and the first consists in a great measure in determining whether they shall be taken from the *old set* of generals, or formed anew from the most experienced, intelligent, and best-proved officers of the American army, without regard to grade.

“ From the want of the list, which I left in the Presidential office, by which my memory could be refreshed as to names, it would be hazardous, and might be improper, to give a decided opinion on this head ; but I have no great scruple in saying, that I incline strongly to the latter mode ; for, if this country is seriously invaded, our system of warfare must be the very reverse of the last.

“ To remark to a military man, how all-important the general staff of an army is to its well-being, and how essential consequently to the commander-in-chief, seems to be unnecessary ; and yet a good choice is of such immense consequence, that I must be allowed to explain myself.

“ The inspector-general, quartermaster-general, adjutant-general, and officer commanding the corps of artillery and engineers, ought to be men of the most respectable character, and of first-rate abilities ; because, from the nature of their respective offices, and from their being always about the commander-in-chief, who is obliged to intrust many things to them *confidentially*, scarcely any movement can take place without their knowledge. It follows, then, that, besides possessing the qualifications just mentioned, they ought to have those of integrity and prudence in an eminent degree, that entire confidence might be reposed in them. Without these, and their being on good terms with the commanding general, his measures, if not designedly thwarted, may be so embarrassed as to make them move heavily on.

“ If the inspector-general is not an officer of great respectability of character, firm and strict in discharging the duties of the trust reposed in him, or if he is too pliant in his disposition, he will most assuredly be imposed upon,

and the efficient strength of the army will not be known to the commander-in-chief. Of course he may form his plans upon erroneous calculations, and commit fatal mistakes.

“If the quartermaster-general is not a man of great resource and activity, and worthy of the highest confidence, he would be unfit for the military station he is to occupy ; for, as it is not possible at all times to conceal from him real designs and movements under false appearances, the better and safer way is, to place full confidence in him under the seal of responsibility. Then, knowing the plan, he participates in the concealment ; on which, and the celerity of a movement, success oftentimes entirely depends. In addition to these requisites in a quartermaster-general, economy in providing for the wants of an army, proper arrangements in the distribution of their supplies, and a careful eye to the use of them, are of great importance, and call for a circumspect choice.

“The adjutant-general ought also to be a man of established character, of great activity and experience in the details of an army, and of proved integrity ; or no alertness can be expected in the execution of the several duties consigned to him on the one hand, and every thing is to be feared from treachery or neglect in his office on the other ; by which the enemy might be as well informed of our strength as their own.

“Though last mentioned, it is not the least important, that so essential and scientific a part of the army, as the corps of artillerists and engineers, should have an able and respectable officer at their head, without which it would soon sink into ignorance and disrepute.

“Humanity and feeling for the sick and wounded of an army call loudly for skill, attention, and economy in the director of the hospitals ; and, without the last qualification, profusion and misapplication of its stores will inevitably take place.

“Able, well-informed, active, and spirited general officers are no doubt of high importance to the honor, reputation, and success of any army ; but I have confined my observations in a more particular manner to those of the

general staff, who may be considered as so many parts of the commander-in-chief. Viewing them, then, in this light, it will readily be seen how essential it is, that they should be agreeable to him. Such characters are within my view, if they would accept.

“I have run into great prolixity, in order to give you a comprehensive view of my ideas on the subject of your letter, and the principles by which I am governed. Without these explanations, the answer might have been conveyed in a few words as follows.

“When I retired to the walks of private life, I had no idea, that any event would occur which could induce me to leave them. The pain I should feel, if it be my fate to do so, cannot easily be expressed ; yet, if this country should actually be invaded, or there should be such manifestation of a design to do it as cannot be mistaken, I should be ready to render every service in my power to repel it ;—

“Provided my declining years are not considered as an objection to the trust, but, on the contrary, and in support of the partiality which may actuate the President in my favor, it shall appear unequivocally to you, and to those with whom you act, being at the centre of information from all parts of the Union, and where a commander for the troops to be raised must often have been the subject of conversation, that the public wish was directed to me, notwithstanding my avowed declaration when I retired from office to remain a private citizen ;—

“And provided also, that I can have such characters associated with me, as will render the turmoils of war, and the burden of the command, as light as the nature of them will admit. For it is well known, that the vicissitudes of war are not within the reach of human control ; and the chances of adding to, are not greater than the hazard of taking from, that reputation which the partiality of the world has been pleased to confer on me for past services. Not prompted, as I have observed in a former part of this letter, by motives of ambition or interest to embark again on a theatre so arduous and responsible, I might in the course of events be left with the single con-

solation of *knowing myself*, though possibly deprived even of the credit of that by the malevolence of others ; and that a sense of duty was the *only* motive, which had induced me to run the risk, and to make the sacrifice of my ease and quiet at the same time.

“ In a very handsome, polite, and flattering letter, with which I have lately been honored by the President, he has *hinted* in very delicate terms, not to be misunderstood, a wish that the command of the military force of this country might be in me. I did not conceive myself at liberty, however, to go into such details and explanations with him, as, from the habits of intimacy I have always been in with you, I thought myself authorized to communicate to you, who may be assured of the sincere esteem and affectionate regards of, dear sir, &c.”

His final determination is contained in the following letter :

“ *To John Adams, President of the United States.*

“ Mount Vernon, 13 July, 1798.

“ DEAR SIR,—I had the honor, on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hands of the Secretary of War your favor of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed me lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of all the armies raised or to be raised for the service of the United States.

“ I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly-flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication ; at the same time I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen on a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

“ You know, sir, what calculations I had made relative to the probable course of events on my retiring from office, and the determination I had consoled myself with, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode. You will, therefore, be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to



bring my mind to any conclusion that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

“It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions. The conduct of the Directory of France towards our country, their insidious hostilities to its government, their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it, the evident tendency of their acts and those of their agents to countenance and invigorate opposition, their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations, their war upon our defenceless commerce, their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demands amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments with those, which my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means, as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

“Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavored to avert war, and exhausted to the last drop the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause, and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence, which has heretofore and so often signally favored the people of these United States.

“Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person of every description to contribute at all times to his country’s welfare, and especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear is so seriously threatened, I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States ; with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

“In making this reservation I beg to be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public, and that I cannot receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense.

“The Secretary of War being anxious to return to the seat of government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication upon the several points he had in charge. With very great respect and consideration, I have the honor to be, &c.”

Having concluded to enter upon this responsible service, General Washington devoted himself most faithfully and laboriously to all the details of a preliminary nature, requisite to the equipment and organization of an army. The following letter to his two major-generals, shows how thoroughly he entered upon his work, and the wide and comprehensive views, as well as the minute carefulness, with which he was preparing to execute it.

“*To Major-Generals Hamilton and Pinckney.*

“*Queries.*

“*Philadelphia, 10 November, 1798.*

“1. Is an invasion of the United States by France to be apprehended whilst that power continues at war with Great Britain ?

“2. In case such an invasion should take place, what part of the United States, in their opinion, is most likely to be first attacked ?

“3. Is it probable that the French will, in the way of exchange, or by other means, become possessed of the Floridas and Louisiana ?

“4. In case of such an event, what will probably be the consequences, as they relate to the United States ? What measures will be best to counteract them ? And can those measures be carried promptly into effect by the Commander-in-chief of the armies ? Or must they

be previously submitted to the war-office ? This question, it will be perceived, presupposes a force in existence.

“ 5. What can be done to supply our present deficiency of engineers ? From whence, and by what means, are they to be obtained ? Should a Frenchman be employed at any rate ?”

“ 6. Would not riflemen, in the place of light-infantry, be eligible as a component part of each regiment ? And, in that case, would Ferguson’s rifles claim a preference ?”

“ 7. Under the idea, that each grand division of the United States is to furnish four regiments of the augmented force, and each State according to the census is to raise its proportion, how many places in each, (its extent being considered,) and where, ought to be assigned as rendezvous during the recruiting service ? At what place ought the general rendezvous in each State to be fixed during the said period ? And at what place or places in the United States ought the augmented force to assemble ? If in more than one place, how many, where, and the number at each ?”

“ 8. Of how many pieces of ordnance, of what sorts, and of what calibre, ought the park of artillery to consist, independently of what is attached to brigades or regiments ? And how many ought each of these to have ?”

“ 9. Would it be advisable, after an adequate force is recruited, to withdraw the troops which at present occupy the posts on our northern and western frontiers, replacing them with new-raised troops ?”

“ 10. Of how many ranks do the French form their line of battle generally ? Do they make much use of pikes ? And would it be an eligible weapon, with which to arm part of our soldiery, as that is the nation with which we expect to contend ? General Pinckney may from personal observation be enabled to solve these two questions.

*“ Queries relative to Smaller Matters ;*

but meriting consideration, as an army is now commencing more systematically than formerly, the rules, regulations, and distinctions in which may give a tone to measures, that may prevail hereafter.

“ 1. If the clothing of the regiments, and the fashion of that clothing, with distinctions between one regiment and another, are not already ordered by the proper authorities, and in train of execution, what had they best be ?

“ 2. Would not cotton, or (still more so) flannel, be advisable for shirting and linings for the soldiers ?

“ 3. What had best be the distinctions in dress, in the badges, and other peculiarities between the commander-in-chief and his suite, the major-generals and their aids ; between the latter and the brigadiers and theirs ; and between these again and the regimental officers ? Also, among the regimental officers themselves, and commissioned and non-commissioned ? And whether the staff (not in the line of the army) of the different departments, both commissioned and warrant officers, ought not to be designated by their dress, or some appropriate mark or badge ; and in every case be compelled to wear them, as well for the purpose of denoting the corps to which they belong, as a means by which irregularities, rioting, and improper conduct may be discouraged with more ease ?

“ 4. As there have been many objections to, and remarks made upon, the black cockade, (being that of Great Britain,) might not something be devised by way of annexation thereto, to distinguish it from that of any other nation ? I have seen, and it appeared to have no bad effect, a small eagle (of pewter, tin, and in some instances silver) fixed by way of button in the centre of the rose cockade, which was not only very distinguishable, but somewhat characteristic.

“ The sooner these queries are taken into consideration, and opinions given on them, the more agreeable will it be to, gentlemen, yours, &c.”

The following letters are interesting, in the same point of view :

*" To James McHenry, Secretary of War.*

*" Mount Vernon, 13 May, 1799.*

"SIR,—That no time might be lost in carrying the President's plan, and the request contained in your letter of the 10th ultimo, into effect, I have solicited the aid of Generals Morgan, Lee, and Marshall, and Colonels Heth and Carrington. If other fit and confidential characters should offer, as worthy of employment in the proposed selection, I will speak or write to them also, for it is on others I must rely. An absence, with short intervals only, of near twenty-five years, with the consequent changes, has in a great measure obliterated my former acquaintance with the people of *this State*, and my knowledge of the rising generation in it is very limited indeed. The task I am imposing on others is delicate, and not of the pleasantest kind ; because, except in a few instances, it will be very difficult, in such an extensive State as Virginia, to ascertain who would or would not accept appointments in the Provisional Army without previous inquiry ; and to make this inquiry, on the hazardous ground of rejection, involves delicacy ; namely, as to the selected, who may have given his consent ; to the selector, who may have asked it ; and to the department, that is to approve or disapprove the measure.

"Viewing the matter in this light, let me ask if there would be any impropriety in a notification from the war-office to the effect, that, as events may render it expedient to raise the twenty-four regiments, and, as it has been found from experience that much time (when probably it could be the least spared) would be required to select and organize the officers therefor, it is requested, that all those, who are desirous of serving their country on the terms specified in that act, would without delay signify the same, (producing such recommendations as would bring them forward under favorable auspices,) and the grades to which reasonable pretensions would entitle them, to G. W., or whomsoever in this State (the same in oth-

er States if the measure is approved) you might be pleased to appoint, for the purpose of receiving the applications which ought all of them to be in writing, accompanied by the testimonials of merit.

“In a State spreading over so much ground as Virginia, it would require much time, and be scarcely possible even then, to make the object of government known, and to carry your plan of apportionment into effect, by any method short of the one I have suggested ; and, if the notice is not general, the selection must of consequence be partial.

“After allowing sufficient time for the applications to come in, one might then be able, with the aid of such characters as could be confided in, to select and form, from the materials thus amassed, officers agreeably to your list and apportionment to the State ; and otherwise I do not see how it can be accomplished in any reasonable time, much less efficiently.

“There may be objections to this mode, which do not occur to me ; but sure I am it would be found the most likely means of drawing characters from all parts of the State, or, failing therein, of obviating any charge of partiality ; for, if men will not come forward when invited, it is their own fault, and not that of the government.

“Under any circumstances I consider this preparatory measure of the President’s as eligible ; but I am led to believe, from his having adopted it at *this time*, without any previous intimation before he left the seat of government, that stronger indications of hostility have been received than appeared when he went away. If so, I think it ought to be communicated to me in confidence ; for it must not be expected, that I can quit my family and private concerns at a moment’s warning.

“And this conjecture leads me to the consideration of another matter of very serious importance. It is well known that the great advantage, which the armies of France have over those they contend with, lies in the superiority with which their artillery is served, and in the skill of their engineers. Let me entreat, therefore, that the most prompt and pointed attention be given to the

procuring and instructing of men in these sciences. Lamentable, indeed, must be our case, if we shall have to acquire the knowledge of these arts in the face of an enemy, when that enemy ought to experience our skill in the exercise of them. I do not mean to recommend characters as instructors in these branches, but I will mention the names of some, who have passed through my mind, and have been recalled to it ; Duportail, Lamoy, Senf, Rivardi, and Latrobe. Of the last I know nothing, but have been told, that he professes to be well acquainted with the *principles* of engineering. I notice these as persons within your reach, in case nothing better can be done. It is necessary to be provident. Let us not have things to prepare, when they should be in use.

“ To enable me to carry your request into execution, I ought to be informed, who of the Virginia arrangement have accepted their appointments, who have refused, and who have received no answer from you. Many, whose expectations were not answered in the last organization, and on that account declined, might be gratified on the present occasion with propriety, possibly from necessity. With respect, I have the honor to be, &c.”

“ *To Alexander Hamilton, Major-General.*

“ Mount Vernon, 15 September, 1799.

“ DEAR SIR,—Mrs. Washington’s indisposition, and other circumstances, would not allow me to give your letter of the 9th instant, and the reports and journals which accompanied it, an earlier consideration. Having done this, however, with as much thought as I have been able to bestow, under the circumstances mentioned, I see no cause (with the limited force which has been enumerated, and which I presume is all that can be calculated upon) to differ from you in the disposition of it. Although at the same time I shall make some observations thereupon for consideration.

“ It may be remembered, that, at the time the Secretary of War laid before the general officers in Philadelphia the letters of General Wilkinson, respecting the propriety in his judgement of placing a considerable force

at the Natchez, I gave it my decided disapprobation inasmuch as it would excite in the Spaniards distrust and jealousy of our pacific disposition ; would cause an augmentation of force on *their* part ; and so on with both, if our government should go into the measure ; until the thing which was intended to be avoided would more than probably be produced, that is, hostility. Whereas by keeping that force in the upper country, besides its looking to *all* points, and exciting no alarm in any, it might, if occasion should require it either for defence or offence, descend the stream with all its munitions and equipments ; which could be accumulated with ease, and without noise, at the upper posts, and make the surprise more complete.

“ Although I have said, in effect, that the *corps de reserve*, or army of observation, should take post at the place you have mentioned, namely, in the vicinity of the Rapids of the Ohio, (Louisville,) yet I can see but two reasons which entitle it to be preferred to the *present post* above, at Fort Washington, in a geographical point of view. And these are, that there is no water above the former, that can float large vessels at all seasons ; and that, by being so much lower down, the passage of the Ohio would be facilitated if an expedition should descend the Mississippi. In other respects the latter, in my opinion, has the advantage. First, because it is a post already established, and would incur no additional expense. Secondly, because it is more contiguous to Fort Wayne, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and all the Indians on the Lakes, from whom in that quarter we have most danger to apprehend. Thirdly, because communications with it, for the most part by water, are already established. And, fourthly, in case of insurrections above or below, it is equally as well if not better situated.

“ Were it not that the Wabash empties itself into the Ohio so low down, and yet above its confluence with the Cumberland and Tennessee, I should be inclined to give a position near the mouth of the Wabash the preference over either the Rapids or Fort Washington, because it would command a great water inlet towards the Lakes.



“ But whether the position for the *corps de reserve* be chosen at the Rapids of the Ohio, above or below, it had better, I conceive, be on the north side of the Ohio, than within the State of Kentucky ; thereby impeding more the intercourse between the army and the citizens, and guarding against the evils, which result from that mixture and too much familiarity.

“ I am so far from agreeing with General Wilkinson, that Fort Wayne ought to be abolished, that, if I mistake not the place, central between the heads of the Miamis of Lake Erie and the Ohio, the St. Joseph and the Wabash, affording good water transportation, with small portages in every direction, I should pronounce it, were it not for the expense of subsisting troops there, the most eligible position for the army of observation of any in that country. It would be an effectual security against all the Indians, who could annoy us in that region ; it would cover our barrier posts on the line between the British and us ; and troops from thence might descend rapidly into the Mississippi by the Wabash.

“ General Wilkinson, in speaking of posts along our southern frontier, is general ; and you only notice Fort Stoddert. But, on an inspection of the maps, a place presents itself to my view as very eligible to occupy, provided the Creek Indians would consent to it. I mean the Appalachicola, at its confluence with Flint River, where the line of demarcation strikes it.

“ But, in my opinion, if we had or could obtain an engineer of real skill, and attached to the true policy and interest of the United States, he ought to devote his whole time to the investigation of our interior country, and mark and erect its proper defences ; for these hitherto have been more the work of chance and local consideration, than national design.

“ If the harbor of Presque Isle is good, I should think a small garrison ought to be retained there. It certainly is the best on the American side of Lake Erie, and one there is important. But I see very little use for a sergeant and eight privates at Fort Knox. It is either unnecessary, or too small ; and sergeants at a distance

rarely conduct well, when they have not the eye of an officer to inspect their conduct.

“There are several references in General Wilkinson’s report, which were not sent. By his statement of the mutilated condition of the troops, and present disposition of them, there must have been most horrible mismanagement somewhere. A corrective is, indeed, highly necessary. The practice of furloughing officers, and then renewing the furloughs from time to time, is extremely injurious to the service, and ought to be discontinued on ordinary occasions. And that of frittering the army into small garrisons is, if possible, worse. It will never be respectable while these evils exist ; and until it can be more concentrated, and the garrisons frequently relieved by detachments from the main body, discipline will always be lax, and impositions on the public will prevail.

“If the British are resolved to keep up armed vessels on the Lakes, I presume it will be expedient for us to do the same ; but in time of peace a better way, in my opinion, is for neither to have any. In case of a rupture, or the appearance of one, with that nation, there can be no doubt of our arming on those waters much more expeditiously than they would be able to do.

“I have now gone over the material points in your letter and General Wilkinson’s report ; but, as I mentioned before, it has been done under circumstances unfavorable to minute investigation or mature deliberation, and my sentiments, where differing from you, are given more for consideration than decision. Should any thing of importance on this subject, not noticed here, occur to me, I shall not fail to communicate it to you ; for the measures now taken with respect to guarding our frontiers and interior country ought to be such, as will be permanent and respectable. With very great regard, I am, dear sir, &c.”

The prospect of war with France blew over, and Washington was only called to bear his testimony to the great principle, that the duties of patriotism continue in force so long as life endures, and that no amount of

previous service, no circumstances whatever, authorize a good citizen to withhold his influence and exertions when it is clear that his country stands in need of them.

The following letter, written while war seemed probable, sums up, in brief terms, the views which actuated him in this, his last public service.

*“ To James Anderson.*

*“ Mount Vernon, 25 July, 1798.*

“ **ESTEEMED SIR,**—I little imagined, when I took my last leave of the walks of public life, that any event could bring me again on a public theatre. But the unjust conduct of France towards these United States has been and continues to be such, that it must be opposed by a firm and manly resistance, or we shall not only hazard the subjugation of our government, but the independence of our nation, also ; both being evidently struck at by a lawless, domineering power, which respects no rights, and is restrained by no treaties, when it is found inconvenient to observe them.

“ While we are thus situated, sustaining daily injuries, even indignities, with a patient forbearance, from a sincere desire to live in peace and harmony with all the world ; the French Directory, mistaking the American character, and supposing that the people of this country were divided, and would give countenance to their nefarious measures, have proceeded to exact loans, (or in other words contributions,) and to threaten us, in case of non-compliance with their wild, unfounded, and inconsistent complaints, that we should share the fate of Venice and other Italian states.

“ This has roused the people from their slumbers, and filled them with indignation from one extremity to the other of the Union ; and I trust, if they should attempt to carry their threats into effect, and invade our territorial, as they have done our commercial rights, they will meet a spirit, that will give them more trouble than they are aware of, in the citizens of these States.

“ When every thing sacred and dear to freemen is thus threatened, I could not, consistently with the principles which have actuated me through life, remain an idle spec-

tator, and refuse to obey the call of my country to lead its armies for *defence*, and therefore have pledged myself to come forward whensoever the exigency shall require it.

“With what sensations, at my time of life, now turned of sixty-six, without ambition or interest to stimulate me thereto, I shall relinquish the peaceful walk to which I had retired, and in the shades of which I had fondly hoped to spend the remnant of a life, worn down with cares, in contemplation of the past, and in scenes present and to come of rural enjoyment, let others, and especially those who are best acquainted with the construction of my mind, decide ; while I, believing that man was not designed by the all-wise Creator to live for himself alone, prepare for the worst that can happen.”

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### *Washington's Death.*

ON the 12th of December, 1799, General Washington rode out to his farms about ten o'clock, and returned about three. On reaching home he franked some letters, but did not send them to the post-office, saying that the weather was too bad to expose the servant in carrying them. The next day, Friday, he complained of having taken cold ; he walked out, however, to attend to the marking of some trees. In the evening he was quite hoarse, but continued reading some newspapers that had been brought in, and engaging with great cheerfulness in conversation from time to time. Between two and three o'clock he awoke Mrs. Washington, and complained of an ague, saying that he was very unwell. He continued to grow worse. Every thing was done to relieve him. Several physicians, among them his old friend, Dr. Craik, were present. They bled him repeatedly, and applied other remedies, but in vain. In the course of Saturday afternoon he said to Mr. Lear, his Secretary, “I find I am going. My breath cannot last long. I believed,

from the first, that the disorder would prove fatal. **Do** you arrange and record all my late military letters and papers. Arrange my accounts and settle my books." To one of his attendants he said, "I am afraid I shall fatigue you too much ;" and, upon a reply that the only wish of every one was to give him ease, he observed, "Well, it is a debt we must pay to each other, and I hope, when you want aid of this kind, you will find it." About five o'clock he said to Dr. Craik, "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long." Shortly after he said to his physicians, "I feel myself going ; I thank you for your attentions ; but I pray you to take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long." Between ten and eleven o'clock on Saturday evening, December 14th, he expired. He was buried on Wednesday, the 18th.

The effect produced by the intelligence, that Washington was dead, upon the people of the United States, was most striking and sublime. A whole nation was bowed down with sudden and profound grief and awe ; and one wide-spread funereal pageant was seen all over the land. The feeling was deep, universal, and all-absorbing.

Congress, on hearing of his death, immediately adjourned. The next morning General Marshall rose and spoke as follows :

"**MR. SPEAKER**,—The melancholy event, which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more ! The hero, the patriot, and the sage, of America ; the man on whom in times of danger every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

"If, sir, it had even not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom Heaven has selected as its instruments for dispensing good to man, yet such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents, which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation,

impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow, which is so deep and so universal.

“More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide-spreading empire, and to give to the western world independence and freedom.

“Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and sink the soldier in the citizen.

“When the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots, who formed for us a Constitution, which, by preserving the Union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings, which our Revolution had promised to bestow.

“In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and, in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute, more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy, which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honor, and our independence.

“Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we have seen him, at a time when his re-election with universal suffrage could not be doubted, afford to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his station to the peaceful walks of private life.

“However the public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with respect to others, with respect to him they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

“Let us, then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the

grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels. For this purpose I hold in my hand some resolutions which I take the liberty of offering to the house.

“ *Resolved*, That this House will wait on the President, in condolence of this mournful event.

“ *Resolved*, That the Speaker’s chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the House wear black during the session.

“ *Resolved*, That a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens.”

The following Addresses passed between the Senate and President Adams.

“ *Letter from the Senate to the President of the United States*

“ 23 December, 1799.

“ SIR,—The Senate of the United States respectfully take leave to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of General George Washington.

“ This event, so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to Him ‘ who maketh darkness his pavilion.’

“ With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern times are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied ; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood

abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory ; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honor ; he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of Heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity. Magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

“ Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example ; his spirit is in heaven.

“ Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage. Let them teach their children never to forget, that the fruits of his labors and his example are their inheritance.”

“ *The President's Answer.*

“ 23 December, 1799.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,—I receive with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret for the loss our country has sustained in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

“ In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities. I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy.

“ Among all our original associates in that memorable league of this continent, in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement,



I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother, yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes, to mingle their sorrows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

“The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds, who, believing that character and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never blast his honor, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory ; for his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal ; for me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men and the results of their actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me but humble resignation.

“His example is now complete ; and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

JOHN ADAMS.”

“JOINT RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY BOTH HOUSES  
OF CONGRESS.

“*December 23d.* *Resolved*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the Capitol of the city of Washington, and that the family of General Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

*“And be it further resolved,* That there be a funeral procession from Congress Hall, to the German Lutheran church, in memory of General George Washington, on Thursday the 26th instant, and that an oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both Houses that day ; and that the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be desired to request one of the members of Congress to prepare and deliver the same.

*“And be it further resolved,* That it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

*“And be it further resolved,* That the President of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear for her person and character, of their condolence on the late afflicting dispensation of Providence ; and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General Washington in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

*“Resolved,* That the President of the United States be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the recommendation contained in the third resolution.

*“December 30th. Resolved,* That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble, on the twenty-second day of February next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief for the death of General George Washington, by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayers.

*“And it is further resolved,* That the President be requested to issue a proclamation, for the purpose of carrying the foregoing resolution into effect.”

But these testimonials of regret at his death, and veneration for his name and character, were not confined to the United States of America. The fleets of foreign nations lowered their flags half-mast, when the intelligence reached them. Napoleon issued general orders, direct-

ing black crape to be suspended, for ten days, from all the standards of France. Funeral ceremonies were performed in Paris, the First Consul and all the chief officers of state attending. And throughout the whole world, the event was heard with the deepest emotion.\*

\* The following notice appeared in the *London Courier* of January 24, 1800. It is here subjoined as an interesting expression of the admiration and reverence with which his name was regarded by foreigners. It is, moreover, one of the best descriptions of his character and person that has ever been written. Washington was not quite sixty-eight years of age at the time of his death. His height was precisely six feet.

“The melancholy account of the death of General Washington was brought by a vessel from Baltimore, which arrived off Dover. General Washington was, we believe, in his sixty-eighth year. The height of his person was about five feet eleven, his chest full, and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head was small, in which respect he resembled the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eye was of a light gray color; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose was long. Mr. Stuart, the eminent portrait painter, used to say that there were features in his face totally different from what he had observed in that of any other human being; the sockets for the eyes, for instance, were larger than what he had ever met with before, and the upper part of his nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest passions; yet, like Socrates, his judgement and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He always spoke with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitated for a word; but always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language was manly and expressive. At levees, his discourse with strangers turned principally upon the subject of America; and if they had been through remarkable places, his conversation was free and peculiarly interesting, for he was intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He was much more open and free in his behavior at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so, than solely with men.

“Few persons ever found themselves for the first time in the presence of General Washington, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor did these emotions subside on a closer acquaintance; on the contrary, his person and deportment were such as tended to augment them. The hard service he had seen, and the important and laborious offices he had filled, gave a kind of austerity to his countenance, and reserve to his manners; yet he was the kindest husband, the most humane master, and the steadiest friend. The whole range of history does not present to our view a character upon which we can dwell with such entire and unmixed admiration.

“The long life of General Washington is unstained by a single blot. He was a man of rare endowments, and such fortunate temperament, that every action he performed was equally exempted from the charge of vice or weakness. Whatever he said, or did, or wrote, was stamped

Shortly after the death of her husband, President Adams, with other high officers of the government, paid Mrs. Washington a visit of condolence, and she had all the consolation and support which the sympathy of the world and the prospects and principles of religion could afford ;

with a striking and peculiar propriety. His qualities were so happily blended, and so nicely harmonized, that the result was a great and perfect whole. The powers of his mind, and the dispositions of his heart, were admirably suited to each other. It was the union of the most consummate prudence with the most perfect moderation. His views, though large and liberal, were never extravagant. His virtues, though comprehensive and beneficent, were discriminating, judicious, and practical. Yet his character, though regular and uniform, possessed none of the littlenesses which sometimes belong to those descriptions of men. It formed a majestic pile, the effect of which was not impaired, but improved, by order and symmetry. There was nothing in it to dazzle by wildness, and surprise by eccentricity. It was of a higher species of moral beauty. It contained every thing great or elevated, but it had no false and tinsel ornament. It was not the model cried up by fashion and circumstance ; its excellence was adapted to the true and just moral taste, incapable of change from the varying accident of manners, of opinions, and times.

“ General Washington is not the idol of a day, but the hero of ages. Placed in circumstances of the most trying difficulty at the commencement of the American contest, he accepted that situation which was pre-eminent in danger and responsibility. His perseverance overcame every obstacle ; his moderation conciliated every opposition ; his genius supplied every resource ; his enlarged view could plan, devise, and improve every branch of civil and military operation. He had the superior courage which can act or forbear to act, as true policy dictates, careless of the reproaches of ignorance either in power or out of power. He knew how to conquer by waiting, in spite of obloquy, for the moment of victory ; and he merited true praise by despising undeserved censure. In the most arduous moments of the contest, his prudent firmness proved the salvation of the cause which he supported. His conduct was, on all occasions, guided by most pure disinterestedness. Far superior to low and grovelling motives, he seemed ever to be influenced by that ambition which has justly been called the instinct of great souls. He acted ever as if his country's welfare, and that alone, was the moving spirit. His excellent mind needed not even the stimulus of ambition, or the prospect of fame. Glory was a secondary consideration. He performed great actions ; he persevered in a course of laborious utility, with an equanimity that neither sought distinction, nor was flattered by it. His reward was in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and the success of his patriotic efforts.

“ As his elevation to the chief power was the unbiassed choice of his countrymen, his exercise of it was agreeable to the purity of its origin. As he had neither solicited nor usurped dominion, he had

but nothing, as may well be imagined, could restore or supply the loss which her heart had experienced, and she followed her beloved and honored partner to the grave, in a few short years. General Washington had no children. The collateral branches of his family still exist, in considerable numbers, and in high respectability.\*

neither to contend with the opposition of rivals, nor the revenge of enemies. As his authority was undisputed, so it required no rigorous severity. His government was mild and gentle ; it was beneficent and liberal ; it was wise and just. His prudent administration consolidated and enlarged the dominion of an infant republic. In voluntarily resigning the magistracy which he had filled with such distinguished honor, he enjoyed the unequalled satisfaction of leaving to the State he had contributed to establish, the fruits of his wisdom and the example of his virtues. It is some consolation, amidst the violence of ambition and criminal thirst of power, of which so many instances occur around us, to find a character whom it is honorable to admire, and virtuous to imitate. A conqueror for the freedom of his country ! a legislator for its security ! a magistrate for its happiness ! His glories were never sullied by those excesses into which the highest qualities are apt to degenerate. With the greatest virtues, he was exempt from the corresponding vices. He was a man in whom the elements were so mixed, that ' Nature might have stood up to all the world and owned him as her work.' His fame, bounded by no country, will be confined to no age. The character of General Washington, which his contemporaries regret and admire, will be transmitted to posterity ; and the memory of his virtues, while patriotism and virtue are held sacred among men, will remain undiminished.'

\* An interesting memoir of Mrs. Washington may be found in 'The National Portrait Gallery of distinguished Americans,' conducted by Messrs Herring and Longacre, Part XII. Her maiden name was Martha Dandridge. She was born in the County of New Kent, Virginia, in May, 1732. At the age of seventeen, she was married to Colonel Daniel Parke Custis. The unanimous testimony of all, who knew her, was borne in favor of her graces and virtues. She was beautiful, accomplished, prudent, and faithful to every duty. The letters, written by her, which have appeared in these volumes, and which, with a single exception, have not been printed before, prove that she was an affectionate and delightful correspondent, that she loved the scenes of domestic peace and quiet, more than the gayeties of the fashionable, or the splendors of the great, world, and that she was a sincere and humble Christian.

The following extracts from the memoir above alluded to, give some interesting particulars relating to Mrs. Washington. It was written by her grandson, George W. P. Custis, Esq., of Arlington, D. C.

"At the close of each campaign, an aid-de-camp repaired to Mount Vernon, to escort the lady to the Head-Quarters. The arrival of Lady

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Washington's Character.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON was remarkable for the sobriety, gravity, and dignity of his manners and aspect. In early life, there is reason to believe that he was cheerful and social, even to a more than ordinary degree ; but the weight and magnitude of the cares which were afterwards accumulated upon him, gradually imparted to his bearing and mien an appearance of abstraction and reserve. This became the fixed expression of his countenance at the time of the Revolution. His far-reaching mind discerned the vast importance of the cause intrusted to his hands. He regarded the contest with the deepest solicitude, and was impressed with awe, when he considered the interest at stake. It has been said by those who were near his person, that they never knew him to smile throughout the whole war. The elevation of his position, and his unrivalled reputation, naturally created a distance between

Washington at camp was an event much anticipated, and was always the signal for the ladies of the general officers to repair to the bosoms of their lords. The arrival of the aid-de-camp, escorting the plain chariot, with the neat postillions in their scarlet and white liveries, was deemed an epoch in the army, and served to diffuse a cheering influence, amid the gloom which hung over our destinies at Valley Forge, Morristown, and West Point. Lady Washington always remained at the Head-Quarters till the opening of the campaign, and often remarked, in afterlife, that it had been her fortune to hear the first cannon at the opening, and the last at the closing, of all the campaigns of the Revolutionary War."

"Mrs. Washington was an uncommonly early riser, leaving her pillow at day-dawn, at all seasons of the year, and becoming, at once, actively engaged in her household duties. After breakfast, she retired for an hour to her chamber, which hour was spent in prayer, and reading the Holy Scriptures, a practice that she never omitted, during half a century of her varied life."

"In person, Mrs. Washington was well formed, and somewhat below the middle size. To judge from her portrait at Arlington House, done by Woolaston, when she was in the bloom of life, she must, at that period, have been eminently handsome. In her dress, though

him and others. His thoughts were continually occupied by the variety, as well as the importance, of the duties, both of a private and public nature, in which he was involved. Besides all this, he was a truly modest man, and was never led, either by the greatness to which he had attained, or by the applause and admiration of which he was the object, to undervalue the opinions or the powers of other men. He always received with respect, and weighed with candor, whatever they had to offer. For this reason, he preferred to be a listener, rather than a talker. As his reserve of manner, the brevity and infrequency of his conversation, evidently did not arise from hauteur, or affectation, or from a want of the information or the sensibility required for a participation in the exercises and enjoyments of sociality, it did not diminish the interest of his character, but contributed, on the contrary, to perpetuate and increase his personal influence.

The intellect of Washington was of the highest order. His judgement was superlatively clear and strong. His reasoning faculties, in what must unquestionably be considered the surest test of their power, that is, an application to practical questions, of the greatest complexity and

plain, she was so scrupulously neat, that ladies have often wondered, how Mrs. Washington could wear a gown for a week, go through her kitchen and laundries, and all the varieties of places in the routine of domestic management, and yet, the gown retain its snow-like whiteness, unsullied, by even a single speck. In her conduct to her servants, her discipline was prompt, yet humane; and her household was remarkable for the excellence of its domestics.

"Few females have ever figured in the great drama of life, amid scenes so varied and imposing, with so few faults and so many virtues, as the subject of this brief memoir. Identified with the Father of his country in the great events which led to the establishment of a nation's independence, Mrs. Washington necessarily partook much of his thoughts, his councils, and his views. Often at his side, in that awful period that "tried men's souls," her cheerfulness soothed his anxieties, her firmness inspired confidence, while her devotional piety toward the Supreme Being, enabled her to discern a ray of hope, amid the darkness of an horizon clouded by despair.

"After a long life, abounding in vicissitudes, having a full measure of sorrows, but with many and high enjoyments, the venerable MARTHA WASHINGTON descended to the grave, cheered by the prospect of a blessed immortality, and mourned by the millions of a mighty empire."

the widest comprehension, were wonderfully exact, forcible, and effective in their operations. As a military commander, he succeeded in reaching a perfectly accurate estimate of the character and amount of the resources which his own country could supply, and also of those within the reach of the enemy, and was thus enabled to form a plan for conducting the war which was the only one adapted to the circumstances of the occasion, and which alone could have been crowned with success. The same unerring judgement, grasping every detail, and surveying with the clearest vision the whole ground, led him in safety and in triumph through all the difficulties of his civil administration. It was in consequence of the conviction universally felt of his superior judgement, of the unrivalled strength and efficiency of his reasoning faculties, in all practical applications, that his opinions were clothed with such authority, not only over the great body of the people, but also and equally over the first minds of that day. The same admirable judgement appears in his numerous writings, and, combined with good taste, and a style of remarkable neatness, perspicuity, simplicity, and dignity, has given to the productions of his pen a character and value proportioned to the greatness of his services and the glory of his name.

His whole life, from the beginning to the end, is a translucent illustration of the excellence of his moral principles. The carefulness with which, when a boy, he collected, and impressed upon his memory and his heart, the rules of good behavior and the principles of virtue, continued through life to be a marked characteristic. In the midst of the vast concerns committed to his care, and in the blaze of glory which surrounded him, while occupying, by universal consent, the foremost place in the admiration of his countrymen and of mankind, he never neglected the minutest obligation of social life, but, by his scrupulous and unwearied attention to all the details of private duty, added to his public fame and influence, the ever-increasing attachment, confidence, and gratitude of his family, his neighbors, and his dependants. Among the innumerable evidences and illustrations of his fidelity to



all the requirements of justice and benevolence, in the smallest concerns and relations of life and conduct, which are recorded or related by those who knew him, the following instance, extracted from a newspaper, notwithstanding the humble sphere within which its incidents occurred, and the unimportant nature of the action it describes, will be regarded with interest and with benefit by all who reflect, that it is in such slight particulars that the real character is best displayed ; and that the example of Washington, in the discharge of the duties of a private citizen, is of more value than while at the head of armies or in the chair of state, inasmuch as but few can imitate the latter, and all may be stimulated to virtue and fidelity by the former.

“ ORIGINAL ANECDOTE OF WASHINGTON.

“ General Washington, while engaged in the arduous duties of the Revolution, was called to leave Cambridge, where he was then located, to go to Malden on some business of importance. Accompanied by an aid-de-camp, he mounted his steed and started for Malden, while the sun poured down its scorching rays with more than common intensity. Having arrived at Malden, and being somewhat thirsty and fatigued by their journey, they called at a neat-looking house, and inquired of the landlady if she would furnish them with some beer. Being answered in the affirmative, they dismounted their horses, and, securing them, proceeded to the house. After they had sufficiently refreshed themselves with the cooling beverage, and held quite a pleasant conversation with the ladies, they again were ready to proceed on their journey. But the aid-de-camp, while unloosing his horse, accidentally knocked a stone from the wall. The General, seeing that he was not inclined to pick it up, kindly asked him to replace it ; he replied that he would leave that for the next man to do, and then mounted his horse. The General, with looks of disapprobation pictured on his countenance, again dismounted his steed and replaced the stone himself, at the same time saying, that it was *his rule* always to leave a fence as good as he found it. Although this incident may, by some, be thought hardly worth preserving,

still it goes to show the character of Washington. It shows, that although he was well qualified to lead a victorious army to the field of battle, and ruled, with unerring hand, a great nation, still, he was not forgetful of minor duties, and individual rights. Let every one take this motto of Washington's as his own, and be as careful about the rights of others as he was, and it will save many harsh words and wrong feelings, (to say nothing of the petty lawsuits,) which are daily existing among neighbors.

“ *Woburn, June 27th, 1839.*”

Self-control, self-denial, devotion to the welfare of his fellow-men, humility in his estimate of himself, justice and candor towards others, innocence, integrity, and fortitude of heart, and a conscientious and indomitable fidelity and perseverance in the discharge of every trust, were seen in all his actions, constituted the chief lustre of his character, were stamped on every feature, and drawn in every line of his countenance. These moral sentiments were the rules of his thoughts and his life. They were evidently established on the only sure foundation, an habitual and profound reverence of the Divine Being, and an entire subjection of the mind to his will. This appears throughout his private correspondence, as well as in his public productions. His opinions, in reference to the creeds of different churches, and questions of controversial theology, were never made known, and cannot now be ascertained. But his religious character is placed beyond doubt. His life is its evidence. It is seen in all his writings, and is declared by the testimony of those who witnessed his most private and familiar habits and frames of mind. The following interesting letter from his adopted daughter, the grand-daughter of his wife, and a member of his family for twenty years, will satisfy every reader of his unaffected piety.

“ *Woodlawn, 26 February, 1833.*”

“ *SIR,—I received your favor of the 20th instant last evening, and hasten to give you the information which you desire.*

“ *Truro Parish is the one in which Mount Vernon, Po-*

hick Church, and Woodlawn are situated. Fairfax Parish is now Alexandria. Before the Federal District was ceded to Congress, Alexandria was in Fairfax County. General Washington had a pew in Pohick Church, and one in Christ Church at Alexandria. He was very instrumental in establishing Pohick Church, and I believe subscribed largely. His pew was near the pulpit. I have a perfect recollection of being there, before his election to the Presidency, with him and my grandmother. It was a beautiful church, and had a large, respectable, and wealthy congregation, who were regular attendants.

“He attended the church at Alexandria, when the weather and roads permitted a ride of ten miles. In New York and Philadelphia he never omitted attendance at church in the morning, unless detained by indisposition. The afternoon was spent in his own room at home; the evening with his family, and without company. Sometimes an old and intimate friend called to see us for an hour or two; but visiting and visitors were prohibited for that day. No one in church attended to the services with more reverential respect. My grandmother, who was eminently pious, never deviated from her early habits. She always knelt. The General, as was then the custom, stood during the devotional parts of the service. On communion Sundays, he left the church with me, after the blessing, and returned home, and we sent the carriage back for my grandmother.

“It was his custom to retire to his library at nine or ten o’clock, where he remained an hour before he went to his chamber. He always rose before the sun, and remained in his library until called to breakfast. I never *witnessed* his private devotions. I never *inquired* about them. I should have thought it the greatest heresy to doubt his firm belief in Christianity. His life, his writings, prove that he was a Christian. He was not one of those, who act or pray, ‘that they may be seen of men.’ He communed with his God in secret.

“My mother resided two years at Mount Vernon, after her marriage with John Parke Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington. I have heard her say, that General

Washington always received the sacrament with my grandmother before the Revolution. When my aunt, Miss Custis, died suddenly at Mount Vernon, before they could realize the event, he knelt by her and prayed most fervently, most affectingly, for her recovery. Of this I was assured by Judge Washington's mother, and other witnesses.

"He was a silent, thoughtful man. He spoke little, generally ; never of himself. I never heard him relate a single act of his life during the war. I have often seen him perfectly abstracted, his lips moving, but no sound was perceptible. I have sometimes made him laugh most heartily, from sympathy with my joyous and extravagant spirits. I was, probably, one of the last persons on earth to whom he would have addressed serious conversation, particularly when he knew that I had the most perfect model of female excellence ever with me as my monitress, who acted the part of a tender and devoted parent, loving me as only a mother can love, and never extenuating or approving in me, what she disapproved in others. She never omitted her private devotions, or her public duties ; and she and her husband were so perfectly united and happy, that he must have been a Christian. She had no doubts, no fears for him. After forty years of devoted affection and uninterrupted happiness, she resigned him, without a murmur, into the arms of his Saviour and his God, with the assured hope of his eternal felicity. Is it necessary that any one should certify, 'General Washington avowed himself to me a believer in Christianity ?' As well may we question his patriotism, his heroic, disinterested devotion to his country. His mottoes were, '*Deeds, not Words ;*' and, '*For God and my Country.*'"

The testimony, thus given by one who had grown up in the family of Washington, is corroborated, not only by the whole tenor of his life, but by particular instances. Rev. Albert Barnes has recently brought to the public notice the circumstance, with the evidence of it, that, while the American army was quartered at Valley Forge, Washington was in the habit of secretly withdrawing into a secluded grove, for the purposes of private prayer, be-

yond the reach of the noise and excitements of the camp, and where his meditations and petitions to Heaven might not be disturbed. He was seen by an inhabitant of the neighboring country, who had occasion to pass through the grove, while in the act of prayer. He was kneeling in the recesses of the forest, and, while he supposed no other eye than the All-seeing beheld him, earnestly supplicating the blessing of Heaven upon the struggling cause of his country. Mr. Barnes thus describes Valley Forge, and the condition of the army during the winter of its encampment there :

“ This place is about twenty miles from Philadelphia, and near the river Schuylkill. The ground was then covered with thick woods, and bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by ridges of hills. Here, the army encamped for the winter ; a winter in which they suffered, probably, more than during any winter of the war. ‘ It is affecting,’ said one who lived on the spot, ‘ to hear the old people narrate the sufferings of the army, when the soldiers were frequently tracked by the blood from their sore and bare feet, lacerated by the rough and frozen roads over which they were obliged to pass.’ When retreating from the battle of Brandywine, Washington said, ‘ at least one thousand men are barefooted, and have performed their marches in that condition.’ And, after they had gone into winter quarters, he wrote, ‘ for some days, there has been little less than a famine in the camp. A part of the army have been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest, three or four days.’ Such was the scarcity of blankets, that many of the men were obliged to sit up all night by the fires, for want of covering to protect them ; and, in numerous instances, they were so scantily clad, that they could not leave their huts. When the encampment was begun at Valley Forge, the whole number of the men was about eleven thousand, of whom two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight were unfit for duty, being barefoot, and otherwise naked.”

Mr. Barnes, after relating the circumstances connected with this interesting anecdote, thus happily remarks upon them :

“It was at this period, and under these circumstances, that the Commander-in-chief of the American armies was observed so constantly to retire, for the purpose of secret devotion. Few scenes have had so much moral grandeur as this. Repeated disaster and defeat had dispirited the army and the Nation. Suffering, to an extreme degree, was in the camp; and thousands of brave men were without the necessaries of life. The independence of the Nation was in jeopardy. Attempts were made to stab the reputation of the Commander, and to degrade him from office. Provision for the army was to be made; murmurs and discontent suppressed; calumny to be met; plans formed for a future campaign; the Nation to be inspirited and aroused; an active enemy was in the neighborhood, flushed with recent victory, and preparing to achieve new triumphs; and, in these circumstances, the Father of his Country went alone, and sought strength and guidance from the God of armies and of light. The ear of Heaven was propitious to his prayer; and who can tell, how much of the subsequent brilliant success of the American armies was in answer to the prayers of the American General at the Valley Forge? Who can help prizing American liberty more, when he feels, that it was purchased, not only by valor and blood, but that it was conferred in answer to fervent prayer? Who can ever tread the ground where the American army was then encamped, and not recall the period, when the eyes of that great man were directed to Heaven, and when his knee bowed, and when he breathed forth his fervent supplications for the salvation of his Country? To latest times, it will and should be a subject of the deepest interest, that the independence of our Country was laid, not only in valor, and patriotism, and wisdom, but in prayer.”

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### *Conclusion.*

IN reviewing the life of George Washington, we are led to the conclusion, that he was one of the most favored

and blessed of all mankind. The gifts of Nature and of Providence were lavished upon him with an abundance of which there is no other example. He descended from an excellent family. He was endowed with every desirable grace of body and of mind. He was the owner of an ample private fortune. Through life he was shielded, while passing through the most perilous adventures, by a Divine Hand. No hostile weapon ever touched his person. It seemed sacred and invulnerable. Success crowned his enterprises, or, if withheld for a while, temporary disaster was made equally to redound to his glory, and, ultimately, to promote the accomplishment of his purposes. He was blessed in his private relations. His home combined whatever can be imagined to contribute to the comfort, the dignity, and the bliss of domestic life. In his public employments he was followed and rewarded by all that the heart of the most ardent patriot could have desired, or the wisdom of the most enlightened and philanthropic statesman could have devised for his country or his kind. As his life drew near its close, in looking back over its extended, variegated, and every where glorious scenes, there was nothing that could have occasioned regret, but, from the beginning to the end, he saw one long bright line of happy fortunes, successful efforts, great achievements, and heavenly blessings; and when death approached he felt that he had accomplished his work, that the government and the liberty of his country were firmly established, and that nothing could destroy the beneficent influence of his services in her behalf. He was sure of an immortal and illustrious name on earth, and he reposed a firm but humble confidence in the thought that a life of innocence, duty, and virtue could not fail of the eternal favor of God.

The fame of Washington may be safely said to transcend that of all other men. It spreads wider and shines brighter with the lapse of every year. Counties, cities, and towns, political, patriotic, benevolent, literary, and municipal associations, all over America, inscribe his name in their titles. His character is honored, cherished, and understood by all the people of all parties. The day of

his birth is held in hallowed remembrance, and commemorated with grateful rejoicings. The slightest actions he ever performed are preserved and embalmed in the hearts of his countrymen. His familiar letters have been published, his most private habits exposed, and his whole life brought to view. Whatever relates to him is regarded with reverence and admiration, and nothing has ever been revealed which has not tended to confirm those sentiments.

The writer of this memoir was disposed to glean and gather all that could be considered as defects in his character, or errors in his conduct. He felt that the picture he had drawn, required some shade to heighten its effect. The only instances in which Washington was known to have yielded to the impulses of passion have been faithfully recorded, and the result of the researches, which have been made in arranging the materials of this biography, is a decided conviction that the subject of it was as habitually, as uniformly, and as constantly under the control of an enlightened conscience as any character within the range of mere human history.

Such, too, is the general sentiment of the world. In this we find the secret of his peculiar glory. It is because it is every where felt that his life was without stain and throughout governed by high moral principle, that his reputation surpasses that of all other military and political leaders. This is the great charm of his character. His unquestionable integrity, and the purity of his personal virtue, have surrounded his name, in the estimation of all nations, with an unrivalled lustre.

This conspicuous and acknowledged rectitude and integrity of character have ever been, and will ever be, to him and to his fame, an all-sufficient shield of defence. They made him, through life, invulnerable to the assaults of calumny, and placed him beyond the reach of the vicissitudes of fortune. During his long public career he was, at times, pursued by malice, encompassed by difficulties, and involved in disaster; but never, for a moment, was the brightness of his fame obscured; never, for a moment, did he lose his hold upon the confidence



and love of his countrymen. The clamors of enemies, and the storms of misfortune, passed harmlessly and unheeded beneath the lofty elevation of his bright and spotless honor. The purity and firmness of his principles were so well known, so visible to the eyes of all beholders, that neither hostile men, nor adverse events, could, even for a moment, cast a shadow over his great and good name.

“As some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,  
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm ;  
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,  
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.”\*

The universal extension of the reputation of Washington is as remarkable as its purity and brightness. In every quarter and region of the earth his name is held in honor, and identified with all that makes liberty dear, heroism admirable, or virtue venerable to the human heart. Even in countries the least connected with America by commercial or political relations, and the most widely separated by language and institutions, his character is appreciated, and his glory cherished. On the 22d of February, 1837, the American Charge d’Affaires at the court of Sweden, the Hon. Christopher Hughes, celebrated the birth-day of Washington by a dinner-party. After the health of the King of Sweden had been given, Mr. Hughes proposed, “The memory of Gustavus Vasa—the deliverer of his country from foreign tyranny, and the glorious founder of Swedish independence.” Immediately upon this, the Archbishop of Upsala rose and gave, “The memory of George Washington.” At the

\* The above well-known lines are a literal translation from a Latin poet, Claudian. The passage in the original, particularly the three lines immediately subsequent to those translated by Goldsmith, is much more applicable to Washington, even, than the English verses. It is, indeed, most remarkably and admirably descriptive of him.

“Ut altus Olympi  
Vertex, qui spatio ventos hiemesque relinquit,  
Perpetuum nulla temeratus nube serenum,  
Celsior exsurgit pluviis, auditque ruentes  
Sub pedibus nimbos et rauca tonitrua calcat :  
*Sic patiens animus per tanta negotia liber  
Emergit, similisque sui ; justique tenorem  
Flectere non odium cogit, non gratia suadet.*”

The following is a free translation of the last three lines.—“Thus the patient mind emerges from so many affairs, free, and like itself; and neither can hostility compel, nor flattery seduce, the just man to depart from the tenor of his way.”

same time the Archbishop recited a poem, of which the following translation was made by an English lady residing in Sweden. It is said to give but a faint idea of the beauty and spirit of the original.

- “ Swedes ! drink this toast with glass in hand !  
America with us unites,  
’Tis for the Father of his Land,  
The glorious founder of its rights !  
That place in honor’s Pantheon,  
Which on our Vasa we bestow,  
She gives it to her Washington,  
And both, with pride, exulting glow.
- “ From God’s own heart, O, Liberty !  
Through mortal veins thy stream doth run ;  
Thy march is o’er the boundless sea,  
Earth’s furthest shores to thee are one.  
Where’er thou bidd’st the patriot arm  
Against the tyrants that oppress,  
The pulse beats high, the soul grows warm,  
The cry is VICTORY ! success !
- “ It was thy hand that dubb’d him knight,  
That noble hero of his land,  
Who, when he crush’d the tyrant’s might,  
Gave glory to Virginia’s strand.  
’Twas thou, at whose command he came,  
Conquer’d the enemy !—and then  
Return’d, with Fabius’ laurell’d fame,  
The General and the Citizen.
- “ Interpreter of thine high cause,  
Known by its accents, he was sent,  
When to his nation noble laws  
He gave—that kingly President.  
In council the same dauntless mood  
Inspired the sage, in civic toga,  
As that with which the hero stood  
At Trenton, Yorktown, Saratoga.
- “ O, when, in deep oblivion’s shade,  
Fame’s airy bubbles burst and die,  
And many a princely name shall fade  
Away from memory’s starry sky,  
Then he shall gain his proud reward,  
Immortal glory and renown,  
That sovereign without court or guard,  
Or regal pomp or kingly crown.
- “ Our feelings, pilgrim-like, repair  
To seek our hero’s sacred grave ;
-

No fragrant flowers shed perfume there,  
 No weeping willows o'er it wave ;  
 But zeal for freedom, law, and state,  
 Friendship and faith to all below,  
 Join'd with a never-dying hate  
 'Gainst servile chains and empty show."

The public journal which gives the account of this interesting occasion says that, at its conclusion, "each guest received from the hand of the host an autograph of General Washington ; to the Archbishop he gave a portrait of the great and good man, whose features, like the Union, should be dear to the heart of every American."

One of the most brilliant of modern poets has expressed the universal sentiment of the world in the following lines.

" Where may the wearied eye repose,  
 When gazing on the great,  
 Where neither guilty glory glows,  
 Nor despicable state ?

" Yes—one—the first—the last—the best—  
 The Cincinnatus of the West,  
 Whom envy dared not hate,  
 Bequeath'd the name of WASHINGTON—"\*

The memory of Washington is a possession of infinite value to the people of America. Among the innumerable evidences of the favor of Providence, with which they have been blessed, it is an occasion of especial gratitude, on their part, that such a character was raised up, to lead them to the attainment and enjoyment of their national independence and liberty. It becomes them, in their thanksgivings to Heaven, to praise and bless God, that when the sword was to be drawn, and embattled hosts to be arrayed, He gave to their fathers a champion and a leader, whom a virtuous and Christian people can safely teach their children to honor and love. In the progress of civilization and Christianity, war, with all its works, will be done away. Its glories and its horrors will be known only in history ;—but in those happy days Washington will still be found worthy of the admiration

\* Additional Stanzas to Napoleon Bonaparte, by Lord Byron. April, 1814.

of mankind. The future generations of America, and the friends of liberty, to the end of time, while they admire his valor, shown on fields of blood, will also find much more to admire in the private and personal virtues which made his whole life beautiful, noble, and grand. The enthusiasm with which they contemplate the hero will be blended with approbation, love, and delight as the patriot, the citizen, the philanthropist rises to view. They may safely give their hearts to the conqueror who feared not man, for their lives will thereby be brought under the power of the example of one who feared God. It will be well for them to linger before the living canvass which delineates his form, for, although the sword of battle is at his side, and his arm rests upon the neck of his war-horse, the spirit of benevolence and of peace beams from his countenance, and the lessons of virtue are proclaimed from his life. Happy indeed is the people, who will for ever call him the **FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY !**



## APPENDIX.

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### FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1796.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,—The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country ; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest ; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness ; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of

duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety ; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgement was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself ; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgement of that

debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence ; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual ; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained ; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue ; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me



all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very Liberty, which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness ; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and

interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *AMERICAN*, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together ; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those, which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated ; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater

consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations ; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere ? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of

the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes, which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *Geographical* discriminations, *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those, who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be

deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens ?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute ; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force ; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the

will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community ; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government ; destroying afterwards the very engines, which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions ; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a country ; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion ; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty it-

self will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed ; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual ; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the Community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms ; kindles the animosity of one part against another ; foment, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true ; and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by



dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern ; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation ; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice ? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free

government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric ?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible ; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it ; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden, which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue ; that to have Revenue there must be taxes ; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant ; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations ; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct ; and can it be, that good policy

does not equally enjoy it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its Virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation

for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions ; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained ; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity ; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils ! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake ; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial ; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign

nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious ; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance ; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected ; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation ; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation ? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground ? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice ?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world ; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it ; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand ; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences ; consulting the natural course of things ; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing ; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate ; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another ; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character ; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an

old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish ; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course, which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good ; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism ; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my Country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations ; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*United States, September 17th, 1796.*



## WASHINGTON AS AN AGRICULTURIST.

THROUGHOUT his correspondence there are indications of Washington's strong attachment to agricultural pursuits. Although so often and so long separated from his farms, and notwithstanding the number and weight of the public cares and employments to which he was called, he never neglected the oversight of his plantations, and preserved the character and the spirit of a cultivator of the soil, unimpaired and without interruption, during his whole life.

While at home, it was his daily practice to inspect, personally, all the various operations and processes going on over his wide-spread domains. During his absences from Mount Vernon, he received from his manager weekly reports, containing meteorological tables, and an exact account of every thing that had taken place, in the several divisions of his plantation. The minutest particulars were required to be inserted in these reports. All the expenditures of money or of labor, the entire profit and loss, the repairs of fences and buildings, the condition of the live stock, and of the laborers, and, indeed, all circumstances of every description connected with the estate, were carefully registered, according to methodical forms, and thus, week by week, brought before him. He regularly answered these reports, giving full directions in all points. His answers were prepared with his usual neatness, precision, and carefulness. They were generally of great length, frequently filling several sheets closely written, and copies of them all were preserved. But a more just and lively impression will be received of his character as a farmer by extracts from his own correspondence and other papers, than from any description by another. The following selections have been made, for this purpose from his published writings. The reader will see reason to conclude, that, in addition to all his other distinctions, he was one of the most intelligent and extensive farmers of his age.

The following extracts from letters, one addressed to John Witherspoon, and the other, to Arthur Young, describe the extent and character of his landed estate.

*“ To John Wütherspoon.*

“ Mount Vernon, 10 March 1784.

“ Upon examination, I find that I have patents under the signature of Lord Dunmore, (while he administered the government of this State,) for about 30,000 acres; and surveys for about 10,000 more, patents for which were suspended by the disputes with Great Britain, which soon followed the return of the warrants to the land-office.

“ Ten thousand acres, of the above thirty, lie upon the Ohio; the rest on the Great Kenhawa, a river nearly as large, and quite as easy in its navigation, as the former. The whole of it is rich bottom land, beautifully situated on these rivers, and abounding plenteously in fish, wild-fowl, and game of all kinds.”

*“ To Arthur Young.*

“ Philadelphia, 12 December, 1793.

“ All my landed property, east of the Appalachian Mountains, is under rent, except the estate called Mount Vernon. This, hitherto, I have kept in my own hands; but, from my present situation, from my advanced time of life, from a wish to live free from care, and as much at my ease as possible, during the remainder of it, and from other causes, which are not necessary to detail, I have latterly entertained serious thoughts of letting this estate also, reserving the Mansion-House Farm for my own residence, occupation, and amusement in agriculture; provided I can obtain what is, in my own judgement, and in the opinion of others whom I have consulted, the low rent which I shall mention hereafter; and provided also I can settle it with good farmers.

“ The quantity of ploughable land, (including meadow,) the relative situation of the farms to one another, and the division of these farms into separate enclosures, with the quantity and situation of the woodland appertaining to the tract, will be better delineated by the sketch herewith sent (which is made from actual surveys, subject nevertheless to revision and correction) than by a volume of words.

“ No estate in United America is more pleasantly situated than this. It lies in a high, dry, and healthy country, three hundred miles by water from the sea, and, as you will see by the plan, on one of the finest rivers in the

world. Its margin is washed by more than ten miles of tide-water ; from the bed of which, and the innumerable coves, inlets, and small marshes, with which it abounds, an inexhaustible fund of rich mud may be drawn, as a manure, either to be used separately, or in a compost, according to the judgement of the farmer. It is situated in a latitude between the extremes of heat and cold, and is the same distance by land and water, with good roads and the best navigation, to and from the Federal City, Alexandria, and Georgetown ; distant from the first, twelve, from the second, nine, and from the last, sixteen miles. The Federal City, in the year 1800, will become the seat of the general government of the United States. It is increasing fast in buildings, and rising into consequence ; and will, I have no doubt, from the advantages given to it by Nature, and its proximity to a rich interior country, and the Western territory, become the emporium of the United States.

“The soil of the tract, of which I am speaking, is a good loam, more inclined however to clay than sand. From use, and I might add abuse, it is become more and more consolidated, and of course heavier to work. The greater part is a grayish clay ; some part is a dark mould ; a very little is inclined to sand ; and scarcely any to stone. A husbandman’s wish would not lay the farms more level than they are ; and yet some of the fields, but in no great degree, are washed into gullies, from which all of them have not as yet been recovered.

“This river, which encompasses the land the distance above mentioned, is well supplied with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year ; and, in the spring, with the greatest profusion of shad, herrings, bass, carp, perch, sturgeon, &c. Several valuable fisheries appertain to the estate ; the whole shore, in short, is one entire fishery.

“There are, as you will perceive by the plan, four farms besides that at the mansion-house ; these four contain three thousand two hundred and sixty acres of cultivable land, to which some hundreds more adjoining, as may be seen, might be added, if a greater quantity should be required ; but as they were never designed for, so neither can it be said they are calculated to suit, tenants of either the first, or of the lower class ; because those, who have the strength and resources proportioned to farms of from five hundred to twelve hundred acres, (which these contain,) would hardly be contented to live in such houses

as are thereon ; and, if they were to be divided and subdivided, so as to accommodate tenants of small means, say from fifty to one or two hundred acres, there would be none, except on the lots which might happen to include the present dwelling-houses of my overlookers, (called bailiffs with you,) barns, and negro-cabins ; nor would I choose to have the woodland (already too much pillaged of its timber) ransacked, for the purpose of building many more. The soil, however, is excellent for bricks, or for mud-walls ; and to the building of such houses there would be no limitation, nor to that of thatch for the cover of them.

“The towns already mentioned, to those who might incline to encounter the expense, are able to furnish scantling, plank, and shingles, to any amount, and on reasonable terms ; and they afford a ready market also for the produce of the land.

“On what is called Union Farm, (containing nine hundred and twenty-eight acres of arable and meadow,) there is a newly-erected brick barn, equal perhaps to any in America, and, for conveniences of all sorts, particularly for sheltering and feeding horses, cattle, &c., scarcely to be exceeded any where. A new house is now building in a central position, not far from the barn, for the overlooker ; which will have two rooms, sixteen by eighteen feet, below, and one or two above, nearly of the same size. Convenient thereto is sufficient accommodation for fifty-odd negroes, old and young ; but these buildings might not be thought good enough for the workmen or day-laborers of your country.

“Besides these, a little without the limits of the farm, as marked in the plan, are one or two other houses, very pleasantly situated, and which, in case this farm should be divided into two, as it formerly was, would answer well for the eastern division. The buildings thus enumerated are all that stand on the premises.

“Dogue-Run Farm (six hundred and fifty acres) has a small, but new building for the overlooker ; one room only below, and the same above, sixteen by twenty each ; decent and comfortable for its size. It has also covering for forty-odd negroes, similar to what is mentioned on Union Farm. It has a new circular barn, now finishing, on a new construction ; well calculated, it is conceived, for getting grain out of the straw more expeditiously than in the usual mode of threshing. There are good sheds

also erecting, sufficient to cover thirty work-horses and oxen.

"Muddy-Hole Farm (four hundred and seventy-six acres) has a house for the overlooker, in size and appearance nearly like that at Dogue Run, but older ; the same kind of covering for about thirty negroes, and a tolerably good barn, with stables for the work-horses.

"River Farm, which is the largest of the four, and separated from the others by Little Hunting Creek, contains twelve hundred and seven acres of ploughable land, has an overlooker's house, of one large and two small rooms below, and one or two above ; sufficient covering for fifty or sixty negroes, like those before mentioned ; a large barn and stables, gone much to decay, but these will be replaced next year with new ones.

"I have deemed it necessary to give this detail of the buildings, that a precise idea might be had of the conveniences and inconveniences of them ; and I believe the recital is just in all its parts. The enclosures are precisely and accurately delineated in the plan ; and the fences now are, or soon will be, in respectable order.

"I would let these four farms to four substantial farmers, of wealth and strength sufficient to cultivate them, and who would insure to me the regular payment of the rents ; and I would give them leases for seven or ten years, at the rate of a Spanish milled dollar, or other money current at the time in this country equivalent thereto, for every acre of ploughable and mowable ground, within the enclosures of the respective farms, as marked in the plan ; and would allow the tenants, during that period, to take fuel ; and use timber from the woodland to repair the buildings, and to keep the fences in order until live fences could be substituted in place of dead ones ; but in this case, no sub-tenants would be allowed."

"My motives for letting this estate having been avowed, I will add, that the whole, except the Mansion-House Farm, or none, will be parted with, and that upon unequivocal terms ; because my object is to fix my income, be it what it may, upon a solid basis in the hands of good farmers ; because I am not inclined to make a medley of it ; and, above all, because I could not relinquish my present course without a moral certainty of the substitute which is contemplated ; for to break up these farms, remove my negroes, and dispose of the property on them upon terms short of this, would be ruinous.

"Having said thus much, I am disposed to add, further, that it would be in my power, and certainly it would be my inclination, upon the principle above, to accommodate the wealthy, or the weak-handed farmer, and upon reasonable terms, with draught-horses, and working mules and oxen ; with cattle, sheep, and hogs ; and with such implements of husbandry, if they should not incline to bring them, themselves, as are in use on the farms. On the four farms, there are fifty-four draught-horses, twelve working mules, and a sufficiency of oxen, broke to the yoke : the precise number I am unable this moment to ascertain, as they are comprehended in the aggregate of the black cattle. Of the latter, there are three hundred and seventeen ; of sheep, six hundred and thirty-four ; of hogs, many ; but, as these run pretty much at large in the woodland, which is all under fence, the number is uncertain. Many of the negroes, male and female, might be hired by the year, as laborers, if this should be preferred to the importation of that class of people ; but it deserves consideration, how far the mixing of whites and blacks together is advisable ; especially, where the former are entirely unacquainted with the latter."

*" To Presley Neville.*

*" Philadelphia 16 June, 1794.*

"SIR,—Enclosed is a blank power, authorizing Mr. Charles Morgan, or any other, with whose name you shall fill it, to collect the rents arising from my land in Fayette and Washington counties, in this State, together with such arrearages as may be due for the preceding years, if any there be.

"From the experience of many years, I have found distant property in land more pregnant of perplexities than profit ; I have, therefore, resolved to sell all I hold on the western waters, if I can obtain the prices which I conceive their quality, their situation, and other advantages, would authorize me to expect. Conversing with Mr. Ross, one of your senators, on this subject, a day or two before he left the city, he gave it to me as his opinion, that the present juncture was favorable for the sale of my land in this State ; and was so obliging, as to offer his services to effect it. He thought the quality of my land in Fayette county, together with the improvements, and show of iron ore within less than thirty yards of the mill door, ought, on credit, to command six dollars. The other, I have always

held at four dollars. The former tract contains 1,644 acres ; the latter, 2,813 acres, by the patent, but it measures more than 3,000 acres by a subsequent survey.

" If, sir, as you live at Pittsburg, the probable place of inquiring after land in that country, you should find it convenient, and not militating against any plans of your own, to make mention of mine, and to aid Mr. Ross in the sale of these tracts, it would oblige me.

" If a fourth of the purchase money is paid at the time of conveyance, a credit of four, five, or six years might be allowed for the remainder, provided it is fully secured, and the interest thereon regularly paid at one of the banks in this State, Baltimore, Georgetown, or Alexandria. To receive this without trouble, and with punctuality as it becomes due, will be insisted upon.

" My land on the Ohio and Great Kenhawa Rivers, amounting to 32,373 acres, was once sold for sixty-five thousand French crowns to a French gentleman, who was very competent to the payment at the time the contract was made ; but, getting a little embarrassed in his finances by the revolution in his country, by mutual agreement the bargain was cancelled. Lately I have been in treaty for the same land at three dollars and a third per acre for the whole quantity ; but being connected with other matters, it is not likely to result in a bargain, as I once expected, and therefore I am at liberty to seek another market.

" To give a further description of these lands than to say they are the cream of the country in which they are, that they were the first choice of it, and that the whole is on the margin of the rivers and bounded thereby for fifty-eight miles, would be unnecessary to you, who must have a pretty accurate idea of them and their value. But it may not be amiss to add, for the information of others, that the quantity before mentioned is contained in seven surveys, to wit, three on the Ohio, east side, between the mouth of the Little and Great Kenhawas. The first is the first large bottom below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, containing 2,314 acres, and is bounded by the river five miles and a quarter. The second is the fourth large bottom, on the same side of the river, about sixteen miles lower down, containing 2,448 acres, bounded by the river three miles and a quarter. The third is the next large bottom, three miles and a half below, and opposite nearly to the Great Bend, containing 4 395 acres, with a margin on the river of

five miles. The other four tracts are on the Great Kenhawa. The first of them contains 10,990 acres on the west side, and begins within two or three miles of the mouth of it, and is bounded thereby for more than seventeen miles. The second is on the east side of the river, a little higher up, containing 7,276 acres, and bounded by the river thirteen miles. The other two are at the mouth of Cole River, on both sides and in the fork thereof, containing together 4,950 acres, and like the others are all interval land, having a front upon the water of twelve miles.

“Besides these, I have the Round Bottom, opposite to Pipe Creek, about fifteen miles below Wheeling, which contains 587 acres, with two miles and a half front on the river, and of quality inferior to none thereon; and 234 acres at the Great Meadows on Braddock’s Road, with the allowances.

“For the whole of these tracts taken together, I would allow seven years’ credit, without requiring a fourth of the purchase money to be paid down, provided the principal is amply secured, and the interest also, in the manner before mentioned; for to have no disappointment or trouble in the receipt of this must be a *sine quâ non*.\* If the tracts are sold separately, I should expect a fourth of the purchase to be paid down, and more than three dollars and a quarter per acre for the Round Bottom, and the tract of 10,990 acres on the Great Kenhawa, knowing from my own view the extraordinary value of these tracts. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, &c.”

The following will serve as a specimen of his answers to the weekly reports of the manager of his farms, written while he was President of the United States, from Philadelphia, the seat of government. The extracts which are here given, are taken from a letter, dated November 11, 1792, addressed to Anthony Whiting. The extraordinary minuteness of the details, into which he enters, while absent from his farms, and engaged in such a multiplicity of public cares and duties of the greatest importance, show the wonderful effect of his perfect system of method.

“I shall again express my wish, and, as the raising of corn at the Mansion-House is given up, will also add my anxiety, to have all the ground (except single trees and clumps, here and there) cleared, and well cleared, as mentioned in a former letter, between the old clover lot and

\* An indispensable condition.



the sunken ground, quite from the wharf to Richard's house and the gate ; but, previously, do what has been desired from the cross fence by the spring, to the wharf. In clearing the whole of this ground, let all the ivy and flowering trees and shrubs remain on it, over and above the clumps, and other single trees where they may be thought requisite, for ornament. The present growing pines within that enclosure might be thinned, and brought more into form. When this is done, and all the low land from the river up to the gate laid down in grass, it will add much to the appearance of the place, and be a real benefit and convenience, as it will yield an abundance of grass.

" All the hands, that can be conveniently spared, may be kept steadily at this work until it is accomplished, or till they are called off for other essential purposes. The ditchers too, when not employed about more essential work, may aid in this. And it will be necessary for you to think of some crop for the new part of the ground, that will require cultivation through the summer ; otherwise the clearing of it will be labor in vain, as in a year or two, without cultivation, it will be as foul as ever.

" By a vessel called the *President*, Captain Carhart, you will receive, I hope, the articles contained in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The linen I expect will be cut out and used to the best advantage. You will perceive there are two prices ; let that, which bears the lowest price, be given to the boys and girls, and the highest price and best, to the grown and most deserving men and women, and the surplus (for there is more than you required) be put away securely.

" The mulberry-trees may be planted about in clumps, as mentioned in my letter by last post to the gardener. They are not trimmed, because, as I am informed, these trees may be propagated by cuttings from them, and save me the trouble and expense of sending more from this place. With respect to the shrubs from Mr. Bartram's botanical garden, directions at the foot of the list are given so fully, as to render it unnecessary to add aught concerning them in this letter ; but the grapes the gardener must take particular care of, as they are of a very fine kind.

" I send you, also, under cover with this letter, some seeds, which were given to me by an English farmer from the county of Essex, in England, lately arrived in this country to settle, and who appears to be a very sensible

and judicious man, and a person of property. He also gave me a pamphlet upon the construction of the kind of plough, which he has used for many years ; and the principles for putting the parts together, to make it work true and easy, which I will send to you so soon as I shall receive it from a gentleman to whom I lent it. The plough is simple in its make. The oats, which he gave me as a sample, exceed very little, if any, what I have grown myself. They may, however, in the spring be put into the ground by single seeds, to try what can be made of them. The cattle cabbage may also be tried.

“ Mr. Lambert, the name of the farmer from whom I had these things, says that the land, on which he and his father before him have lived for fifty or sixty years, is a stiff white clay ; and, being at a distance from any source of manure, besides that which is made on the farm, they have pursued a different mode of cropping from that which is usually followed in England ; and by so doing, with the aid of the internal manure of the farm, they have brought their poor, stiff land, which originally did not yield them more than five or six bushels of wheat to the acre, and other grain in proportion, to produce very generally from twenty-five to thirty of wheat, and from forty to fifty of barley. Their method has been to keep the arable land always perfectly clean, and alternately in crop or fallow ; that is, to take a corn crop from it one year, and have it under the plough in a naked fallow, by way of preparation for the next crop, the next year ; beginning this fallow in the autumn, when the ground is dry, again in the spring, as soon as it becomes dry, and three or four times after, before seeding for wheat ; (if wheat is the crop ; ) never ploughing it wet, which is the cause, he says, of its running. He seems to understand the principles as well as the practice of husbandry, being a sensible man, and inured for a number of years (I suppose he is sixty) to the labor and practice of it. He has travelled a good deal about this country, and is of opinion that our great error lies in not keeping our arable land clean, and free from weeds. I observed to him, that the people of this country are of opinion, that naked fallows under our hot sun are injurious. He will not by any means admit the principle or the fact ; but ascribes the empoverished state of our lands and bad crops to the weeds which he every where sees, and which both exhaust and foul it. By constant ploughing, these, he

says, are eradicated ; and when the fields come to be laid in grass, which is sown, the hay will be pure and unmixed with any thing hurtful to it.

“ The giving way of the post-and-rail fencing proves, in a strong point of view, the necessity of seeing that all which is made hereafter be of a more substantial kind ; that is, the posts larger, and the rails shorter ; and it proves, too, the necessity of what I can never too often nor too strongly impress upon you, and that is, to begin and make a business of rearing hedges, without the loss of a single season ; for, really, there is no time to lose. Set about it, effectually.”

“ Desire Thomas Green to date his reports. That of the week before last, I send back for explanation of his measurement of the sawing. I fancy, it will puzzle him to make out five hundred and eight feet in the twenty-four plank there set down ; for, as plank, length and breadth only could be measured.”

“ Direct the miller to report, every week, the state of his manufactory of the wheat ; as well as the receipts and delivery of the grain into and from the mill, that I may see how he proceeds in that business, and what flour he has on hand, that I may govern my directions accordingly.”

“ In ploughing fields No. 3 and No. 4, Dogue Run, let them be so begun as that the rows when planted may run north and south, or as nearly so as the situation of the fields will admit.

“ In making your weekly reports, instead of referring to the preceding week or weeks, for the state of your stock of different kinds, enumerate the number of each. I shall have it in my power then to see at one view the precise state of it without resorting to old accounts. And let me entreat, that you will examine them yourself, frequently, as a check upon the overseers ; without which, rather than be themselves at the trouble of counting them, they will make you that kind of general report.

“ The coffee and tea, that I sent you some time ago, you are very welcome to use, and it is my desire you should do it.

“ The sheriff's bill for the taxes, which you paid while I was at home, cannot here be got at, as it is filed amongst my papers ; but, as I want a copy of it for a particular reason, I should be glad if you would procure one from the sheriff, and send it to me exactly as it was handed in

and paid. I want no receipt annexed to it. The account only is all I desire, containing the whole items of charges. I am your friend and well-wisher,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.

“P. S. In clearing the wood, mark a road by an easy and graduated ascent from the marsh or low ground, up the hollow which leads into the lot beyond the fallen chestnut, about midway of the lot ; and leave the trees standing thick on both sides of it, for a shade to it. On the west side of this hollow, if I recollect rightly, there was an old road formerly, but not laid out agreeably to the directions here given. It would look well, and perhaps might be convenient, if there was a road on both sides of this hollow, notwithstanding the hill-side on the east is steep. At any rate, trees where the road would go, if made, might be left for future decision, as they might also be along the side of the low land at the foot of the hill quite from the wharf to the gate by Richard’s house. If that meadow should ever be thoroughly reclaimed, and in good grass, a walk along the edge of it would be an agreeable thing ; and leaving trees for this purpose may not be amiss, as they may at any time be removed, although time only can restore them if taken away in the first instance. And this would be a good general rule for you to observe in other parts of the same ground ; as, if too thick, they can always be thinned ; but, if too thin, there is no remedy but time to retrieve the error.”

His zeal for information, in reference to the best methods of operation, to improvements in the implements of husbandry, and to the progress of practical and scientific agricultural knowledge, in other countries, and the high degree of intelligence and skill which he had reached, are to be seen in his correspondence. His writings on this subject, in the form of letters and instructions to his overseers, are very numerous, and show, how constantly and earnestly his attention was directed to the science and to the practice of cultivating the ground. His extensive territories, and his wealth, gave him great opportunities to gratify his taste, in this respect, and, in so doing, he evidently found his chief enjoyment. Writing to Arthur Young, August 6, 1786, he says :

“Agriculture has ever been among the most favored of

my amusements, though I never have possessed much skill in the art, and nine years' total inattention to it has added nothing to a knowledge, which is best understood from practice ; but, with the means you have been so obliging as to furnish me, I shall return to it, though rather late in the day, with more alacrity than ever.

“ The system of agriculture, if it deserves the epithet of *system*, which is in use in this part of the United States, is as unproductive to the practitioners as it is ruinous to the landholders. Yet it is pertinaciously adhered to. To forsake it ; to pursue a course of husbandry which is altogether different, and new to the gazing multitude, ever averse to novelty in matters of this sort, and much attached to the customs of their forefathers, requires resolution, and, without a good practical guide, may be dangerous ; because, of the many volumes which have been written on this subject, few have been founded on experimental knowledge ; are verbose, contradictory, and bewildering. Your *Annals*, therefore, shall be this guide. The plan on which they are published gives them a reputation, which inspires confidence ; and for the favor of sending them to me, I pray you to accept my very best acknowledgements. To continue them will add much to the obligation.

“ To evince with what avidity and with how little reserve I embrace the polite and friendly offer you have made, of supplying me with ‘ men, cattle, tools, seeds, or any thing else that may add to my rural amusements,’ I will give you the trouble, sir, of providing, and sending to the care of Wakelin Welch, of London, merchant, the following articles.

“ Two of the simplest and best-constructed ploughs for land, which is neither very heavy nor sandy ; to be drawn by two horses ; to have spare shares and coulter ; and a mould, on which to form new irons, when the old ones are worn out, or will require repairing. I will take the liberty to observe, that some years ago, from a description or recommendation thereof, which I had somewhere met with, I sent to England for what was then called the Roth-erham or patent plough ; and, till it began to wear and was ruined by a bungling country smith, that no plough could have done better work, or appeared to have gone easier with two horses ; but, for want of a mould, which I neglected to order with the plough, it became useless, after the irons, which came with it, were much worn.

" A little of the best kind of cabbage seed for field culture.

" Twenty pounds of the best turnip seed.

" Ten bushels of sainfoin seed.

" Eight bushels of the winter vetches.

" Two bushels of rye-grass seed.

" Fifty pounds of hop-clover seed.

" And if it is decided (for much has been said for and against it) that burnet, as an early food, is valuable, I should be glad of one bushel of this seed also. Red clover seed is to be had on easy terms in this country ; but if there are any other kinds of grass seeds, not included in the above, that you may think valuable, especially for early seeding or cutting, you would oblige me by adding a small quantity of the seeds, to put me in stock. Early grasses, unless a species can be found that will stand a hot sun, and oftentimes severe droughts in the summer months, without much expense of cultivation, would suit our climate best.

" You see, sir, that, with very little ceremony, I avail myself of your kind offer ; but, should you find, in the course of our correspondence, that I am likely to become troublesome, you can easily check me. Enclosed I give you an order upon Wakelin Welch for the cost of such things as you may have the goodness to send me. I do not, at this time, ask for any other implements of husbandry than the plough ; but when I have read your ' Annals,' (for they are but just come to hand,) I may request more. In the mean time, permit me to ask what a good ploughman may be had for at annual wages ; to be found (being a single man) in board, lodging, and washing ? The writers upon husbandry estimate the hire of laborers so differently in England, that it is not easy to discover from them, whether one of the class I am speaking of would cost eight or eighteen pounds a year. A good ploughman at low wages would come very opportunely with the plough I have requested."

In a letter to the same person, of Nov. 15, 1786, he says:

" My soil will come under the description of loam ; with a hard clay, or (if it had as much of the properties as the appearance, it might be denominated) marl, from eighteen inches to three feet below the surface. The heaviest soil I have would hardly be called a stiff or binding clay, in England ; and none of it is a blowing sand. The sort, which approaches nearest the former, is a light gray ; and

that to the latter, of a yellow red. In a word, the staple has been good ; but, by use and abuse, it is brought into bad condition.

“I have added this information, sir, that you may be better able to decide on the kind of seed, most proper for my farm.

“Permit me to ask one thing more. It is, to favor me with your opinion, and a plan, of the most complete and useful farm-yard, for farms of about five hundred acres. In this, I mean to comprehend the barn, and every appurtenance which ought to be annexed to the yard. The simplest and most economical plan would be preferred, provided the requisites are all included.

Under date of Nov. 1, 1787, he writes to Mr. Young :

“I did myself the honor to hand the set of ‘Annals’ to the Agricultural Society in Philadelphia, which you sent to that body through me. The President wrote a letter to you expressive of the sense they entertained of the favor which you did them ; and mentioned therein the effects of some experiments which had been made with plaster of Paris as a manure. I intended to have given you an account of it myself, as I find the subject is touched upon in your ‘Annals,’ but this letter has precluded the necessity of it.

“The fifth volume of the ‘Annals,’ which was committed to the care of Mr. Athawes for me, did not come to hand till some time after I had received the sixth.

“The quantity of sainfoin, which you sent me, was fully sufficient to answer my purpose ; I have sown part of it, but find that it comes up very thin ; which is likewise the case with the winter wheat, and some other seeds which I have sown.

“I have a high opinion of beans, as a preparation for wheat, and shall enter as largely upon the cultivation of them next year, as the quantity of seed I can procure will admit.

“I am very glad that you did not engage a ploughman for me at the high wages which you mentioned ; for I agree with you, that that single circumstance, exclusive of the others which you enumerate, is sufficiently objectionable. I have tried the ploughs which you sent me, and find that they answer the description which you gave me of them ; this is contrary to the opinion of almost every one, who saw them before they were used ; for it was thought their great weight would be an insuperable objection to their being drawn by two horses.

“ I am now preparing materials to build a barn precisely agreeable to your plan, which I think an excellent one. Before I undertake to give the information you request, respecting the arrangements of farms in this neighborhood, I must observe, that there is, perhaps, scarcely any part of America, where farming has been less attended to than in this State. The cultivation of tobacco has been almost the sole object with men of landed property, and consequently a regular course of crops has never been in view. The general custom has been, first to raise a crop of Indian corn, (maize,) which, according to the mode of cultivation, is a good preparation for wheat ; then a crop of wheat ; after which the ground is respited (except from weeds, and every trash that can contribute to its foulness) for about eighteen months ; and so on, alternately, without any dressing, till the land is exhausted ; when it is turned out, without being sown with grass-seeds, or any method taken to restore it ; and another piece is ruined in the same manner. No more cattle are raised, than can be supported by lowland meadows, swamps, &c., and the tops and blades of Indian corn ; as very few persons have attended to sowing grasses, and connecting cattle with their crops. The Indian corn is the chief support of the laborers and horses. Our lands, as I mentioned in my first letter to you, were originally very good ; but use and abuse have made them quite otherwise.

“ The above is the mode of cultivation which has been generally pursued here ; but the system of husbandry, which has been found so beneficial in England, and which must be greatly promoted by your valuable ‘ Annals,’ is now gaining ground. There are several, among whom I may class myself, who are endeavoring to get into your regular and systematic course of cropping, as fast as the nature of the business will admit ; so that I hope in the course of a few years we shall make a more respectable figure as farmers, than we have hitherto done.

“ I will, agreeably to your desire, give you the prices of our products as nearly as I am able ; but you will readily conceive from the foregoing account, that they cannot be given with any precision. Wheat, for the last four years, will average about 4s. sterling per bushel, of eight gallons. Rye, about 2s. 4d. Oats, 1s. 6d. Beans, peas, &c., have not been sold in any quantities. Barley is not made here, from a prevailing opinion that the climate is



not adapted to it. I, however, in opposition to prejudice, sowed about fifty bushels last spring, and found that it yielded a proportionate quantity with any other kind of grain which I sowed ; I might add, more. Cows may be bought at about £3 sterling per head. Cattle for slaughter vary from  $2\frac{1}{4}d.$  to  $4\frac{1}{4}d.$  sterling per pound ; the former being the current price in summer, the latter, in the winter or spring. Sheep at 12s. sterling per head ; and wool at about 1s. sterling per pound.

“ P. S. I observe in the sixth volume of your ‘ Annals,’ there is a plate and description of Mr. Winlaw’s mill, for separating the grain from the heads of corn. Its utility or inutility has, undoubtedly, been reduced to a certainty before this time. If it possesses all the properties and advantages mentioned in the description, and you can, from your own knowledge, or such information as you *entirely* rely on, recommend it as a useful machine, where laborers are scarce, I should be much obliged to you to procure one for me, to be paid for and forwarded by Mr. Welch, provided it is so simple in its construction, as to be worked by ignorant persons, without danger of being spoiled, (for such, only, will manage it here,) and the price of it does not exceed £15, as mentioned in the ‘ Annals,’ or thereabouts.”

In answer to Sir John Sinclair, who had asked for information, with the view of purchasing a desirable situation, and removing to America to occupy it, he writes, December 11, 1796, giving the following general view of the country, in reference to its agricultural qualities :

“ The United States, as you well know, are very extensive, more than fifteen hundred miles, between the north-eastern and southwestern extremities ; all parts of which, from the seaboard to the Appalachian mountains, which divide the eastern from the western waters, are entirely settled, though not as compactly as they are susceptible of ; and settlements are progressing, rapidly, beyond them.

“ Within so great a space, you are not to be told, that there is a great variety of climates ; and you will readily suppose, too, that there are all sorts of land, differently improved, and of various prices, according to the quality of the soil, its contiguity to, or remoteness from, navigation, the nature of the improvements, and other local circumstances. These premises, however, are only sufficient for the formation of a general opinion ; for there are material deviations, as I shall mention hereafter.

“In the New-England States, and to Pennsylvania inclusive, landed property is more divided, than it is in the States south of them. The farms are smaller, the buildings, and other improvements, generally better, and, of consequence, the population is greater ; but then the climate, especially to the eastward of Hudson’s river, is cold ; the winter long, consuming a great part of the summer’s labor in support of their stock during the winter. A mildew, or blight, (I am speaking, now, of the New-England States particularly,) prevents them from raising wheat adequate to their own consumption ; and of other grains, they export little or none, fish being their staple. They live well, notwithstanding, and are a happy people. Their numbers are not augmented by foreign emigrants ; yet, from their circumscribed limits, compact situation, and natural population, they are filling the western parts of the State of New York, and the country on the Ohio, with their own surplusage.

“New Jersey is a small State, and all parts of it, except the southwestern, are pleasant, healthy, and productive of all kinds of grain. Being surrounded on two sides by New York, and on the other two by Delaware River, and the Atlantic, it has no land of its own, to supply the surplus of its population ; of course, the emigrations from it are towards the Ohio.

“Pennsylvania is a large State, and, from the policy of its founder, and of the government since, and, especially, from the celebrity of Philadelphia, has become the general receptacle of foreigners from all countries, and of all descriptions, many of whom, soon take an active part in the politics of the State ; and, coming over, full of prejudices against their own governments, some against all governments, you will be enabled, without any comment of mine, to draw your own inference of their conduct.

“Delaware is a very small State, the greater part of which lies low, and is supposed to be unhealthy. The eastern shore of Maryland is similar thereto. The lands in both, however, are good. •

“But the western parts of the last-mentioned State, and of Virginia, quite to the line of North Carolina, above tide-water, and, more especially, above the Blue Mountains, are similar to those of Pennsylvania, between the Susquehanna and Potomac rivers, in soil, climate, and productions and, in my opinion, will be considered, if not considered so

already, as the garden of America ; forasmuch as they lie between the two extremes of heat and cold, partaking, in a degree, of the advantages of both, without feeling much the inconveniences of either ; and, with truth, it may be said, they are among the most fertile lands in America, east of the Appalachian Mountains.

“ The uplands of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, are not dissimilar in soil ; but, as they approach the lower latitudes, are less congenial to wheat, and are supposed to be, proportionably, more unhealthy. Towards the seaboard of all the southern States, and further south, more so, the lands are low, sandy, and unhealthy, for which reason, I shall say little concerning them ; for, as I should not choose to be an inhabitant of them, myself, I ought not to say any thing that would induce others to be so.

“ This general description is furnished, that you may be enabled to form an idea of the part of the United States, which would be most congenial to your inclination. To pronounce, with any degree of precision, what lands could be obtained for, in the parts I have enumerated, is next to impossible, for the reasons I have before assigned ; but, upon pretty good data, it may be said, that those in Pennsylvania are higher than those in Maryland, and, I believe, in any other State ; declining in price, as you go southerly, until the rice-swamps of South Carolina and Georgia are met with, and these are as much above the medium, in price, as they are below it, in health. I understand, however, that from thirty to forty dollars per acre, (I fix on dollars, because they apply, equally, to all the States, and because, their relative value to sterling is well understood,) may be denominated the medium price in the vicinity of the Susquehanna, in the State of Pennsylvania ; from twenty to thirty on the Potomac, in what is called the Valley, lying between the North Mountains and Blue Mountains, which are the richest lands we have ; and less, as I have noticed before, as you proceed southerly. But, what may appear singular, and was alluded to in the former part of this letter, the lands in the parts of which I am now speaking, on and contiguous to tide-water, with local exceptions, are in lower estimation, than those which are above and more remote from navigation. The causes, however, are apparent. First, the land is better ; secondly, higher and more healthy ; thirdly, they are chiefly, if not altogether, in the occupation of farmers ; and, fourthly, from a combina-

tion of all of them, purchasers are attracted, and, of consequence, the price rises in proportion to the demand.

“The rise in the value of landed property in this country has been progressive, ever since my attention has been turned to the subject, now more than forty years ; but, for the last three or four of that period, it has increased beyond all calculation, owing, in part, to the attachment to, and the confidence which the people are beginning to place in, their form of government, and to the prosperity of the country, from a variety of concurring causes, none more than to the late high prices of its produce.

“From what I have said, you will perceive, that the present prices of lands in Pennsylvania are higher than they are in Maryland and Virginia, although they are not of superior quality. Two reasons have already been assigned for this ; first, that, in the settled part of it, the land is divided into smaller farms, and more improved ; and, secondly, it is, in a greater degree than any other, the receptacle of emigrants, who receive their first impressions in Philadelphia, and rarely look beyond the limits of the State. But, besides these, two other causes, not a little operative, may be added, namely, that, until Congress passed general laws relative to naturalization and citizenship, foreigners found it easier to obtain the privileges annexed to them in this State, than elsewhere ; and because, there are laws here for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither of the two States above mentioned have, at present, but which nothing is more certain, than that they must have, and at a period not remote.

“Notwithstanding these abstracts, and although I may incur the charge of partiality, in hazarding such an opinion at this time, I do not hesitate to pronounce, that the lands on the waters of the Potomac will, in a few years, be in greater demand and in higher estimation, than in any other part of the United States. But, as I ought not to advance this doctrine without assigning reasons for it, I will request you to examine a general map of the United States, and the following facts will strike you, at first view ; that they lie in the most temperate latitude of the United States ; that the main river runs in a *direct* course to the expanded parts of the western country, and approximates nearer to the principal branches of the Ohio, than any other eastern water, and, of course, must become a great, if not (under all circumstances) the best, highway into that region ; that

the upper seaport of the Potomac is considerably nearer to a large portion of the State of Pennsylvania, than that portion is to Philadelphia, besides accommodating the settlers thereof, with inland navigation, for more than two hundred miles ; that the amazing extent of tide navigation, afforded by the bay and rivers of the Chesapeake, has scarcely a parallel.

“ When to these it is added, that a site, at the junction of the inland and tide navigations of that river, is chosen for the permanent seat of the General Government, and is in rapid preparation for its reception ; that the inland navigation is nearly completed, to the extent above mentioned ; that its lateral branches are capable of great improvement at a small expense, through the most fertile parts of Virginia, in a southerly direction, and crossing Maryland and extending into Pennsylvania, in a northerly one, through which, independently of what may come from the western country, an immensity of produce will be water-borne thereby, making the Federal City the great emporium of the United States ; I say, when these things are taken into consideration, I am under no apprehension of having the opinion I have given, relative to the value of land on the Potomac, controverted by impartial men.

“ There are farms, always and every where, for sale. If, therefore, events should induce you to cast an eye towards America, there need be no apprehension of your being accommodated to your liking ; and, if I could be made useful to you therein, you might command my services with the greatest freedom.

“ Within full view of Mount Vernon, separated therefrom by water only, is one of the most beautiful seats on the river for sale, but of greater magnitude, than you seem to have contemplated. It is called Belvoir, and belonged to George William Fairfax, who, were he living, would now be Baron of Cameron, as his younger brother in this country (George William dying without issue) at present is, though he does not take upon himself the title. This seat was the residence of the abovenamed gentleman before he went to England, and was accommodated with very good buildings, which were burnt, soon after he left them. There are near two thousand acres of land belonging to the tract, surrounded, in a manner, by water. The mansion-house stood on high and commanding ground. The soil is not of the best quality ; but a considerable part of it, lying

level, may, with proper management, be profitably cultivated. There are some small tenements on the estate; but the greater part thereof is in wood. At present, it belongs to Thomas Fairfax, son of Bryan Fairfax, the gentleman who will not, as I said before, take upon himself the title of Baron of Cameron. A year or two ago, the price he fixed on the land, as I have been informed, was thirty-three dollars and a third per acre. Whether he could not get that sum, or whether he is no longer disposed to sell it, I am unable, with precision, to say; for I have heard nothing concerning his intentions, lately.

“With respect to the tenements I have offered to let, appertaining to my Mount Vernon estate, I can give no better description of them and of their appurtenances, than what is contained in the printed advertisement, enclosed. But, that you may have a more distinct view of the farms, and their relative situation to the mansion-house, a sketch, from actual survey, is also enclosed; annexed to which, I have given you, from memory, the relative situation and form of the seat at Belvoir.

“The terms on which I had authorized the superintendent of my concerns at Mount Vernon, to lease the farms there, are also enclosed; which, with the other papers, and the general information herein detailed, will throw all the light I am enabled to give you, upon the subject of your inquiry. To have such a tenant as Sir John Sinclair, (however desirable it might be,) is an honor I dare not hope for; and to alienate any part of the fee simple estate of Mount Vernon is a measure I am not inclined to, as all the farms are connected, and parts of a whole. With very great esteem and respect, I am &c.”

“*To William Strickland, in England.*

“Mount Vernon, 15 July, 1797.

“SIR,—I have been honored with yours of the 30th May and 5th September of last year. As the first was in part an answer to a letter I took the liberty of writing to you, and the latter arrived in the middle of an important session of Congress, which became more interesting as it drew more near to its close, \* \* \* I postponed, from the pressure of business occasioned thereby, the acknowledgment of all private letters, which did not require immediate answers, until I should be seated under my own vine

and fig-tree, where I supposed I should have abundant leisure to discharge all my epistolary obligations.

“In this, however, I have hitherto found myself mistaken ; for at no period have I been more closely employed in repairing the ravages of an eight years’ absence. Engaging workmen of different sorts, providing and looking after them, together with the necessary attention to my farms, have occupied all my time since I have been at home.

“I was far from entertaining sanguine hopes of success in my attempt to procure tenants from Great Britain ; but, being desirous of rendering the evening of my life as tranquil and free from care as the nature of things would admit, I was willing to make the experiment.

“Your observation, with respect to occupiers and proprietors of land, has great weight, and, being congenial with my own ideas on the subject, was one reason, though I did not believe it would be so considered, why I offered my farms to be let. Instances have occurred and do occur daily, to prove that capitalists from Europe have injured themselves by precipitate purchases of freehold estates, immediately upon their arrival in this country, while others have lessened their means in exploring States and places in search of locations ; whereas, if on advantageous terms they could have been first seated as tenants, they would have had time and opportunities to become holders of land, and for making advantageous purchases. But it is so natural for man to wish to be the absolute lord and master of what he holds in occupancy, that his true interest is often made to yield to a false ambition. Among these the emigrants from the New England States may be classed, and this will account, in part, for their migration to the westward. Conviction of these things having left little hope of obtaining such tenants as would answer my purposes, I have had it in contemplation, ever since I returned home, to turn my farms to grazing principally, as fast as I can cover the fields sufficiently with grass. Labor, and of course expense, will be considerably diminished by this change, the nett profit as great, and my attention less divided, whilst the fields will be improving.

“Your strictures on the agriculture of this country are but too just. It is indeed wretched ; but a leading, if not the primary, cause of its being so is, that, instead of improving a little ground well, we attempt much and do it ill.

A half, a third, or even a fourth of what we mangle, well wrought and properly dressed, would produce more than the whole under our system of management ; yet such is the force of habit, that we cannot depart from it. The consequence of which is, that we ruin the lands that are already cleared, and either cut down more wood, if we have it, or emigrate into the Western country. I have endeavored, both in a public and private character, to encourage the establishment of boards of agriculture in this country, but hitherto in vain ; and what is still more extraordinary, and scarcely to be believed, I have endeavored ineffectually to discard the pernicious practice just mentioned from my own estate ; but, in my absence, pretexts of one kind or another have always been paramount to orders. Since the first establishment of the National Board of Agriculture in Great Britain, I have considered it as one of the most valuable institutions of modern times ; and, conducted with so much ability and zeal, as it appears to be under the auspices of Sir John Sinclair, it must be productive of great advantages to the nation, and to mankind in general.

“ My system of agriculture is what you have described, and I am persuaded, were I to proceed on a large scale, would be improved by the alteration you have proposed. At the same time I must observe, that I have not found oats so great an exhauster, as they are represented to be ; but in my system they follow wheat too closely to be proper, and the rotation will undergo a change in this, and perhaps in some other respects.

“ The vetches of Europe have not succeeded with me ; our frosts in winter, and droughts in summer, are too severe for them. How far the mountain or wild pea would answer as a substitute, by cultivation, is difficult to decide, because I believe no trial has been made of it, and because its spontaneous growth is in rich lands only. That it is nutritious in a great degree, in its wild state, admits of no doubt.

“ Spring barley, such as we grow in this country, has thriven no better with me than vetches. The result of an experiment, made with a little of the true sort, will be interesting. The field peas of England (different kinds) I have more than once tried, but not with encouragement to proceed ; for, among other discouragements, they are perforated by a bug, which eats out the kernel. From the



cultivation of the common black-eye peas, I have more hope, and am trying them this year, both as a crop, and for ploughing in as a manure ; but the severe drought, under which we labor at present, may render the experiment inconclusive. It has, in a manner, destroyed my oats, and threatens to destroy my Indian corn.

“The practice of ploughing in buckwheat twice in the season as a fertilizer is not new to me. It is what I have practised, or, I ought rather to have said, attempted to practise, the last two or three years ; but, like most things else in my absence, it has been so badly executed, that is, the turning in of the plants has been so ill timed, as to give no result. I am not discouraged, however, by these failures ; for, if pulverizing the soil, by fallowing and turning in vegetable substances for manure, is a proper preparation for the crop that is to follow, there can be no question, that a double portion of the latter, without an increase of the ploughing, must be highly beneficial. I am in the act of making another experiment of this sort, and shall myself attend to the operation, which, however, may again prove abortive, from the cause I have mentioned, namely, the drought.

“The lightness of our oats is attributed, more than it ought to be, to the unfitness of the climate of the middle States. That this may be the case in part, and nearer the seaboard in a greater degree, I will not controvert ; but it is a well-known fact, that no country produces better oats than those that grow on the Alleghany Mountains, immediately westward of us. I have heard it affirmed, that they weigh upwards of fifty pounds the Winchester bushel. This may be occasioned by the fertility of the soil, and the attraction of moisture by the mountains ; but another reason, and a powerful one too, may be assigned for the inferiority of ours, namely, that we are not choice in our seeds, and do not change them as we ought.

“The seeds you were so obliging as to give me shared the same fate that Colonel Wadsworth’s did, and as I believe seeds from England generally will do, if they are put into the hold of the vessel. For this reason, I always made it a point, whilst I was in the habit of importing seeds, to request my merchants and the masters of vessels, by which they were sent, to keep them from the heat thereof.

“You make a distinction, and no doubt a just one, between what in England is called barley, and *big* or *bere*

there be none of the true barley in this country, it is not for us, without experience, to pronounce upon the growth of it ; and therefore, as noticed in a former part of this letter, it might be interesting to ascertain, whether our climate and soil would produce it to advantage. No doubt, as your observations while you were in the United States appear to have been extensive and accurate, it did not escape you, that both winter and spring barley are cultivated among us. The latter is considered as an uncertain crop south of New York, and I have found it so on my farms. Of the former I have not made sufficient trial to hazard an opinion of success. About Philadelphia it succeeds well.

“The Eastern Shore bean, as it is denominated here, has obtained a higher reputation than it deserves ; and, like most things unnaturally puffed, sinks into disrepute. Ten or more years ago, led away by exaggerated accounts of its fertilizing quality, I was induced to give a very high price for some of the seed ; and, attending to the growth in all its stages, I found that my own fields, which had been uncultivated for two or three years, abounded with the same plants, without perceiving any of those advantages, which had been attributed to them.

“I am not surprised that our mode of fencing should be disgusting to a European eye. Happy would it have been for us, if it had appeared so in our own eyes ; for no sort of fencing is more expensive or wasteful of timber. I have been endeavoring for years to substitute live fences in place of them ; but my long absence from home has in this, as in every thing else, frustrated all my plans, that required time and particular attention to effect them. I shall now, although it is too late in the day for me to see the result, begin in good earnest to ditch and hedge ; the latter I am attempting with various things, but believe none will be found better than cedar, although I have several kinds of white thorn growing spontaneously on my own grounds.

“Rollers I have been in the constant use of for many years, in the way you mention, and find considerable benefit in passing them over my winter grain in the spring, as soon as the ground will admit a hoof on it. I use them also on spring grain and grass seeds, after sowing and sometimes before, to reduce the clods when the ground is rough. My clover generally is sown with spring grain ; but, where the ground is not too stiff and binding, it succeeds very well on wheat. Sown on a light snow in Feb-

ruary, or the beginning of March, it sinks with the snow and takes good root. And orchard grass, of all others, is in my opinion the best mixture with clover ; it blooms precisely at the same time, rises quick again after cutting, stands thick, yields well, and both horses and cattle are fond of it, green or in hay. Alone, unless it is sown very thick, it is apt to form tussocks. If of this, or any other seeds I can procure, you should be in want, I shall have great pleasure in furnishing them.

“ I should have been very happy in forming an acquaintance with the gentleman, of whom you speak so highly ; (Mr. Smith of Ross Hall ; ) but, unless he has been introduced on a public day and among strangers, unaccompanied by any expression to catch the attention, I have not yet had the pleasure to see him ; nor have I heard more of Mr. Parsons, than what is mentioned of him in your letter. Your sentiments of these gentlemen, or others, on giving letters of introduction to any of your acquaintance, require no apology, as I shall always be happy in showing civility to whomsoever you may recommend.

“ For the detailed account of your observations on the husbandry of these United States, and your reflections thereon, I feel myself much obliged, and shall at all times be thankful for any suggestions on agricultural subjects, which you may find leisure and inclination to favor me with, as the remainder of my life, which, in the common course of things, now in my sixty-sixth year, cannot be of long continuance, will be devoted wholly to rural and agricultural pursuits.

“ For the trouble you took in going to Hull, to see if any of the emigrants, who were on the point of sailing from thence to America, would answer my purposes as tenants ; and for your very kind and friendly offer of rendering me services, I pray you to accept my sincere thanks, and an assurance of the esteem and regard with which I am, sir, &c.”

General Washington was in the habit of keeping a record of the proceedings on his farms, while he was at home. A specimen of this record here follows.

“ EXTRACT FROM AN AGRICULTURAL DIARY.

“ *April 7th, 1785.*—Cut two or three rows of the wheat (Cape wheat) within six inches of the ground, it being near

eighteen inches high, that which was first sown, and the blades of the whole singed with the frost.

"8th.—Sowed oats to-day in drills at Muddy Hole with my barrel plough. Ground much too wet ; some of it had been manured, but had been twice ploughed, then listed, then twice harrowed before sowing ; which, had it not been for the frequent rains, would have put the ground in fine tilth. Ploughed up the turnip patch at home for orchard grass.

"10th.—Began bricklaying to-day. Completed sowing, with twenty-four quarts of oats, thirty-eight rows at Muddy Hole ten feet apart, in the ground intended for corn.

"11th.—Sowed twenty-six rows of barley in the same field at Muddy Hole in the same manner, with the drill plough, and with precisely the same workings the oats had adjoining thereto. This was done with twelve quarts of seed. After three ploughings and three harrowings, sowed millet in eleven rows three feet apart, opposite to the overseer's house in the Neck. Perceived the last sowed oats at Dogue Run, and those sown in the Neck, were coming up.

"12th.—Sowed sixteen acres of Siberian wheat, with eighteen quarts, in rows between corn, eight feet apart. This ground had been prepared in the following manner. 1. A single furrow ; 2. another in the same to deepen it ; 3. four furrows to throw the earth back into the two first, which made ridges of five furrows. These, being done some time ago, and the sowing retarded by frequent rains, had got hard ; therefore, 4. before the seed was sown, these ridges were split again by running twice in the middle of them, both times in the same furrow ; 5. after which the ridges were harrowed ; and, 6. where the ground was lumpy, run a spiked roller with a harrow at the tail of it, which was found very efficacious in breaking the clods and pulverizing the earth, and would have done it perfectly, if there had not been too much moisture remaining from the late rains. After this, harrowing and rolling where necessary, the wheat was sown with the drill plough on the reduced ridges eight feet apart, as above mentioned, and harrowed in with the small harrow belonging to the plough. But it should have been observed, that, after the ridges were split by the middle double furrows, and before they were closed again by the harrow, a little manure was sprinkled in them.

"At Dogue Run, listing the ground intended for Siberian wheat, barley, &c., a second time.

"At Muddy Hole sowed with the drill plough two rows of the Albany peas between the corn rows, to see whether they would come to any thing for want of the support which they give one another when sown broad-cast. The same management given the ground as for oats and barley at this place.

"13th.—Sowed oats in drills ten feet apart, between corn rows in the Neck, twenty-four rows, in the following manner. 1. A single furrow ; 2. another and deep furrow in this ; 3. four bouts to these ; 4. ploughed again in the same manner ; 5. a single furrow in the middle of these ; 6. manure sprinkled in this furrow ; 7. the great harrow over all these ; and, 8. the seed sowed after the harrow with the drill or barrel plough, and harrowed in with the harrow at the tail of it. *Note.*—It should have been observed, that the field intended for experiments at this plantation is divided into three parts, by bouting rows running cross-wise ; and that manure, and the *last* single furrow, are (at least for the present) bestowed on the most westerly of those nearest the Barn.

"14th.—Harrowed the ground at Muddy Hole, which had been twice ploughed, for Albany peas in broad-cast. At Dogue Run began to sow the remainder of the Siberian wheat, about fourteen quarts, which had been left at the Ferry ; run deep furrows in the middle, and made five-foot ridges. Did the same for carrots in the same field on the west side next the meadow. Ordered a piece of ground, two acres, to be ploughed at the Ferry around the old corn-house, to be drilled with corn and potatoes between, each ten feet apart, row from row of the same kind. Sowed in the Neck, or rather planted, next to the eleven rows of millet, thirty-five rows of the rib-grass seeds, three feet apart, and one foot asunder in the rows.

"15th.—Sowed six bushels of the Albany peas broad-cast at Muddy Hole, on about an acre and a half of ground, which was harrowed yesterday as mentioned above.

"Sowed in the Neck alongside of the rib-grass fifty rows of burnet seed, exactly as the last was put in ; that is, in three-foot rows, and one foot in the row."

His Diary for the last week of his life is here subjoined.

The words at the end of the entry of the 13th of December are probably the last he ever wrote.

“EXTRACT FROM A DIARY FOR DECEMBER, 1799.

“*December 7th.*—Rainy morning, with the wind at north ; mercury at 37. Afternoon, clear and pleasant ; wind westerly. Mercury 41 at night. Dined at Lord Fairfax’s.

“*8th.*—Morning perfectly clear, calm, and pleasant ; but about nine o’clock the wind came from the northwest and blew frost. Mercury 38 in the morning, and 40 at night.

“*9th.*—Morning clear and pleasant, with a light wind from northwest. Mercury at 33. Pleasant all day ; afternoon calm. Mercury 39 at night. Mr. Howell Lewis and wife set off on their return home after breakfast ; and Mr. Lawrence Lewis and Washington Custis on a journey to New Kent.

“*10th.*—Morning clear and calm ; mercury at 31. Afternoon lowering ; mercury at 42, and wind brisk from the southward. A very large hoar-frost this morning.

“*11th.*—But little wind, and raining. Mercury 44 in the morning, and 38 at night. About nine o’clock the wind shifted to the northwest, and it ceased raining, but continued cloudy. Lord Fairfax, his son Thomas, and daughter, Mrs. Warner Washington and son Whiting, and Mr. John Herbert, dined here, and returned after dinner.

“*12th.*—Morning cloudy ; wind at northeast ; mercury 33. A large circle round the moon last night. About one o’clock it began to snow ; soon after, to hail, and then turned to a settled cold rain. Mercury 28 at night.

“*13th.*—Morning snowing, and about three inches deep. Wind at northeast, and mercury at 30. Continued snowing till one o’clock, and about four it became perfectly clear. Wind in the same place, but not hard. Mercury 28 at night.”

## WASHINGTON'S WILL.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States, and lately President of the same, do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand, and every page thereof subscribed with my name,\* to be my last WILL and TESTAMENT, revoking all others.

*Imprimis.*—All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid, and the legacies, herein after bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

*Item.*—To my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Washington*, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever ; as I also do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

*Item.*—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves whom I hold in *my own right* shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor ; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some, who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and

\* In the original manuscript, GEORGE WASHINGTON's name was written at the bottom of every page.

others, who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all, who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live ; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years ; and, in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgement of the court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said Commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do, moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivors of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm ; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it ; not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals. And to my mulatto man, *William*, calling himself *William Lee*, I give immediate freedom, or, if he should prefer it, (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking, or of any active employment,) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so ; in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars, during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chooses the last alternative ; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first ; and this I give him, as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War.

*Item.*—To the trustees (governors, or by whatsoever other name they may be designated) of the Academy in



the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, four thousand dollars, or in other words, twenty of the shares which I hold in the Bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free school, established at, and annexed to, the said Academy, for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons, as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who, in the judgement of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid twenty shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity ; the dividends only of which are to be drawn for and applied, by the said trustees for the time being, for the uses above mentioned ; the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof, should render a removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these twenty shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the thousand pounds given by a missive letter some years ago, in consequence whereof an annuity of fifty pounds has since been paid towards the support of this institution.

*Item.*—Whereas by a law of the Commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the Legislature thereof was pleased, as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the Revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation under legislative patronage, to present me with one hundred shares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated Company, established for the purpose of extending the navigation of James River from the tide water to the mountains ; and also with fifty shares, of £100 sterling each, in the corporation of another Company, likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the River Potomac from the tide water to Fort Cumberland ; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honorable and grateful to my feelings, was refused, as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and had never departed from, viz., not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services

I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights, and because I had evaded similar propositions from other States in the Union ; adding to this refusal, however, an intimation, that, if it should be the pleasure of the Legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to *public uses*, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility ; and this it having consented to, in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law, and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honorable manner ;—I proceed after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare ; that, as it has always been a source of serious regret with me, to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own ; contracting too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome ; for these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and State prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is, (in my estimation,) my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure, than the establishment of a UNIVERSITY in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof may be sent for the completion of their education, in all the branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and, as a matter of infinite importance in my judgement, by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country. Under these impressions, so fully dilated,

*Item.*—I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac Company, (under the aforesaid

acts of the Legislature of Virginia,) towards the endowment of a University, to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it ; and, until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the Bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the Treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress, provided that honorable body should patronise the measure ; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on, until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained ; of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by the legislative authority, or from any other source.

*Item.*—The hundred shares, which I hold in the James River Company, I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity, to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in the County of Rockbridge, in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

*Item.*—I release, exonerate, and discharge the estate of my deceased brother, *Samuel Washington*, from the payment of the money which is due to me for the land I sold to *Philip Pendleton*, (lying in the County of Berkeley,) who assigned the same to him, the said *Samuel*, who by agreement was to pay me therefor. And whereas, by some contract (the purport of which was never communicated to me) between the said *Samuel* and his son, *Thornton Washington*, the latter became possessed of the aforesaid land, without any conveyance having passed from me, either to the said *Pendleton*, the said *Samuel*, or the said *Thornton*, and without any consideration having been made, by which neglect neither the legal nor equitable title has been alienated ; it rests therefore with me to declare my intentions concerning the premises ; and these are, to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said *Thornton Washington* (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs for ever, if he died intestate ; exonerating the estate of the said *Thornton*, equally with that of the said *Samuel*, from payment of the purchase money, which, with interest, agreeably to the

original contract with the said *Pendleton*, would amount to more than a thousand pounds. And whereas two other sons of my said deceased brother *Samuel*, namely, *George Steptoe Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, were, by the decease of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and, in consequence, have occasioned advances on my part, for their education at college and other schools, for their board, clothing, and other incidental expenses, to the amount of near five thousand dollars, over and above the sums furnished by their estate, which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund; I do for these reasons acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof, my intention being, that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

*Item.*—The balance due to me from the estate of *Bartholomew Dandridge*, deceased, (my wife's brother,) and which amounted on the first day of October, 1795, to four hundred and twenty-five pounds, (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, *John Dandridge*, who was the acting executor of his father's will,) I release and acquit from the payment thereof. And the negroes, then thirty-three in number, formerly belonging to the said estate, who were taken in execution, sold, and purchased in on my account, in the year (*blank*,) and ever since have remained in the possession and to the use of *Mary*, widow of the said *Bartholomew Dandridge*, with their increase, it is my will and desire shall continue and be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life; at the expiration of which, I direct that all of them who are forty years old and upwards shall receive their freedom; and all under that age, and above sixteen, shall serve seven years and no longer; and all under sixteen years shall serve until they are twenty-five years of age, and then be free. And, to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of these negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgement thereof, in this relation, shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same. And I further direct, that the heirs of the said *Bartholomew Dandridge* shall equally share the benefits arising from the ser-

vices of the said negroes, according to the tenor of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.

*Item.*—If *Charles Carter*, who intermarried with my niece, *Betty Lewis*, is not sufficiently secured in the title to the lots he had of me in the town of Fredericksburg, it is my will and desire, that my executors shall make such conveyances of them as the law requires to render it perfect.

*Item.*—To my nephew, *William Augustine Washington*, and his heirs, (if he should conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting,) a lot in the town of Manchester, (opposite to Richmond,) No. 265, drawn on my sole account, and also the tenth of one or two hundred acre lots, and two or three half-acre lots, in the city and vicinity of Richmond, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the lottery of the deceased *William Byrd*, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of *John Hood*, conveyed by *William Willie* and *Samuel Gordon*, trustees of the said *John Hood*, numbered 139, in the town of Edinburgh, in the County of Prince George, State of Virginia.

*Item.*—To my nephew *Bushrod Washington*, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country. I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

*Item.*—Having sold lands which I possessed in the State of Pennsylvania, and part of a tract held in equal right with *George Clinton*, late Governor of New York, in the State of New York, my share of land and interest in the Great Dismal Swamp, and a tract of land which I owned in the County of Gloucester,—withholding the legal titles thereto, until the consideration money should be paid,—and having moreover leased and conditionally sold (as will appear by the tenor of the said leases) all my lands upon the Great Kenhawa, and a tract upon Difficult Run, in the County of Loudoun, it is my will and direction, that whensoever the contracts are fully and respectively complied with, according to the spirit, true intent, and meaning thereof, on the part of the purchasers, their heirs or assigns, that then, and in that case, conveyances are to be made, agreeably to the terms of the said contracts, and the money arising therefrom, when paid, to be vested in

bank stock ; the dividends whereof, as of that also which is already vested therein, are to inure to my said wife during her life ; but the stock itself is to remain and be subject to the general distribution hereafter directed.

*Item.*—To the *Earl of Buchan* I recommit the “ Box made of the Oak that sheltered the great Sir *William Wallace*, after the battle of Falkirk,” presented to me by his lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request “ to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country, who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me.” Whether easy or not to select the man, who might comport with his lordship’s opinion in this respect, is not for me to say ; but, conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmiths’ Company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me, I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship ; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honor of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favorable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

*Item.*—To my brother, *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath the gold-headed cane left me by Dr. *Franklin* in his will. I add nothing to it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, *Lawrence Washington* and *Robert Washington*, of Chotanck, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them ; and to each, as they will be useful where they live, I leave one of the spyglasses, which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compatriot in arms, and old and intimate friend, Dr. *Craig*, I give my bureau (or, as the cabinet-makers call it, tambour secretary) and the circular chair, an appendage of my study. To Dr. *David Stuart* I give my large shaving and dressing table, and my telescope. To the Reverend, now *Bryan*, *Lord Fairfax*, I give a Bible, in three large folio volumes, with notes, presented to me by the Right Reverend *Thomas Wilson*, bishop of Sodor and Man. To General *de Lafayette* I give a pair of finely-wrought steel pistols, taken from the enemy in the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law, *Hannah Washington* and *Mildred Washington*, to my friends, *Eleanor Stuart*,

*Hannah Washington*, of Fairfield, and *Elizabeth Washington*, of Hayfield, I give each a mourning ring, of the value of one hundred dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementoes of my esteem and regard. To *Tobias Lear* I give the use of the farm, which he now holds in virtue of a lease from me to him and his deceased wife, (for and during their natural lives,) free from rent during his life ; at the expiration of which, it is to be disposed of as is hereinafter directed. To *Sally B. Haynie*, (a distant relation of mine,) I give and bequeath three hundred dollars. To *Sarah Green*, daughter of the deceased *Thomas Bishop*, and to *Ann Walker*, daughter of *John Alton*, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me ; each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family. To each of my nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *George Lewis*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, and *Samuel Washington*, I give one of the swords, or couteaux, of which I may die possessed ; and they are to choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights ; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

And now, having gone through these specific devises, with explanations for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important parts of my estate, in manner following :

FIRST.—To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, and his heirs, (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father, while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services in the former war between Great Britain and France, that, if I should fall therein, Mount Vernon, then less extensive in domain than at present, should become his property,) I give and bequeath all that part thereof, which is comprehended within the following limits, viz. Beginning at the ford of Dogue Run, near my Mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes, and ever has gone, since my recollection of it, to the ford of Little Hunting Creek, at the Gum Spring, until it comes to a knoll

opposite to an old road, which formerly passed through the lower field of Muddy-Hole Farm ; at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks, marked as a corner, and a stone placed ; thence by a line of trees, to be marked rectangular, to the back line or outer boundary of the tract between *Thompson Mason* and myself ; thence with that line easterly (now double ditching, with a post-and-rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Hunting Creek ; thence with that run, which is the boundary between the lands of the late *Humphrey Peake* and me, to the tide water of the said creek ; thence by that water to Potomac River ; thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue Creek ; and thence with the said Dogue Creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford ; containing upwards of four thousand acres, be the same more or less, together with the mansion-house, and all other buildings and improvements thereon.

SECOND.—In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related to her as to myself, as on account of the affection I had for, and the obligation I was under to, their father when living, who from his youth had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late Revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendence of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable for me to do it myself, thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful ; for these reasons, I say, I give and bequeath to *George Fayette Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, and their heirs, my estate east of Little Hunting Creek, lying on the River Potomac, including the farm of three hundred and sixty acres, leased to *Tobias Lear*, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty-seven acres, be it more or less ; which said estate it is my will and desire should be equitably and advantageously divided between them, according to quantity, quality, and other circumstances, when the youngest shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, by three judicious and disinterested men ; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the mean time, if the termination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefit.



**THIRD.**—And whereas it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grandchildren of my wife in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them ; more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy, namely, *Eleanor Parke Custis* and *George Washington Parke Custis* ; and whereas the former of these hath lately intermarried with *Lawrence Lewis*, a son of my deceased sister, *Betty Lewis*, by which union the inducement to provide for them both has been increased ; wherefore I give and bequeath to the said *Lawrence Lewis*, and *Eleanor Parke Lewis*, his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate, not already devised to my nephew *Bushrod Washington*, comprehended within the following description, viz. All the land north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue Run to the Gum Spring, as described in the devise of the other part of the tract to *Bushrod Washington*, until it comes to the stone and three red or Spanish oaks on the knoll ; thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between Mr. *Mason* and me ;) thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue Run, by the tumbling dam of my Mill ; thence with the said run to the ford aforementioned. To which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue Run and Dogue Creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereby ; together with the mill, distillery, and all other houses and improvements on the premises, making together about two thousand acres, be it more or less.

**FOURTH.**—Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath to *George Washington Parke Custis*, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four Mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing one thousand two hundred acres, more or less, and my entire square, No. 21, in the city of Washington.

**FIFTH.**—All the rest and residue of my estate real and personal, not disposed of in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and whensoever found, (a schedule of which, as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed,) I desire may be sold by my executors, at such times, in such manner, and on such credits, (if an equal, valid, and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without,) as in their judgement shall be most conducive to

the interest of the parties concerned ; and the moneys arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, and applied as follows, viz. To *William Augustine Washington*, *Elizabeth Spotswood*, *Jane Thornton*, and the heirs of *Ann Ashton*, sons and daughters of my deceased brother, *Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath four parts ; that is, one part to each of them. To *Fielding Lewis*, *George Lewis*, *Robert Lewis*, *Howell Lewis*, and *Betty Carter*, sons and daughters of my deceased sister, *Betty Lewis*, I give and bequeath five other parts ; one to each of them. To *George Steptoe Washington*, *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, *Harriot Parks*, and the heirs of *Thornton Washington*, sons and daughters of my deceased brother *Samuel Washington*, I give and bequeath other four parts ; one to each of them. To *Corbin Washington*, and the heirs of *Jane Washington*, son and daughter of my deceased brother, *John Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath two parts ; one to each of them. To *Samuel Washington*, *Frances Ball*, and *Mildred Hammond*, son and daughters of my brother *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath three parts ; one part to each of them. And to *George Fayette Washington*, *Charles Augustine Washington*, and *Maria Washington*, sons and daughter of my deceased nephew, *George Augustine Washington*, I give one other part ; that is, to each a third of that part. To *Elizabeth Parke Law*, *Martha Parke Peter*, and *Eleanor Parke Lewis*, I give and bequeath three other parts ; that is, a part to each of them. And to my nephews, *Bushrod Washington* and *Lawrence Lewis*, and to my ward, the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part ; that is, a third thereof to each of them. And, if it should so happen, that any of the persons whose names are here enumerated (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased person shall notwithstanding derive all the benefits of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time. And, by way of advice, I recommend it to my executors not to be precipitate in disposing of the landed property, (herein directed to be sold,) if from temporary causes the sale thereof should be dull ; experience having fully evinced, that the price of land, especially above the falls of the river and on the western waters, has been progressively rising, and cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the

legatees (under this clause of my will) as can make it convenient, to take each a share of my stock in the Potomac Company, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for ; being thoroughly convinced myself, that no uses to which the money can be applied, will be so productive as the tolls arising from this navigation when in full operation, (and thus, from the nature of things, it must be, ere long,) and more especially if that of the Shenandoah is added thereto.

The family vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Enclosure, on the ground which is marked out ; in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations, (now in the old vault,) and such others of my family as may choose to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire, that my corpse may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

LASTLY, I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Washington*, my nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Samuel Washington*, and *Lawrence Lewis*, and my ward, *George Washington Parke Custis*, (when he shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years,) executrix and executors of this my will and testament ; in the construction of which it will be readily perceived, that no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency in the draught ; and that, although it has occupied many of my leisure hours to digest, and to throw it into its present form, it may, notwithstanding, appear crude and incorrect ; but, having endeavored to be plain and explicit in all the devises, even at the expense of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and trust that no disputes will arise concerning them. But if, contrary to expectation, the case should be otherwise, from the want of legal expressions, or the usual technical terms, or because too much or too little has been said on any of the devises to be consonant with law, my will and direction expressly is, that all disputes (if unhappily any should arise) shall be decided by three impartial and intelligent men, known for their probity and good understanding ; two to be chosen by the disputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by those two ; which three men, thus chosen, shall, unfettered by law or

legal constructions, declare their sense of the testator's intention ; and such decision is, to all intents and purposes, to be as binding on the parties as if it had been given in the Supreme Court of the United States.

*In witness of all and of each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal, this ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety,\* and of the Independence of the United States the twenty-fourth.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

### SCHEDULE OF PROPERTY

*Comprehended in the foregoing Will, which is directed to be sold ; and some of it conditionally is sold ; with descriptive and explanatory Notes relative thereto.*

#### IN VIRGINIA.

|                                                                                 | Acres. | Price.   |              |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----------|--------------|---|
|                                                                                 |        | Dollars. | Dollars.     |   |
| Loudoun County, Difficult Run,<br>Loudoun and Fauquier, Ashby's<br>Bent,        | 300    |          | 6,666        | a |
| Chattin's Run,                                                                  | 2481   | 10       | 24,810       | b |
| Berkeley, South Fork of Bullskin,<br>Head of Evans's M.,<br>In Wormeley's Line, | 885    | 8        | 7,080        |   |
|                                                                                 | 1600   |          |              |   |
|                                                                                 | 453    |          |              |   |
|                                                                                 | 183    |          |              |   |
|                                                                                 | 2236   | 20       | 44,720       | c |
| Frederic, bought from Mercer,<br>Hampshire, on Potomac River,<br>above B,       | 571    | 20       | 11,420       | d |
| Gloucester, on North River,                                                     | 240    | 15       | 3,600        | e |
| Nansemond, near Suffolk, one third<br>of 1119 acres,                            | 400    | about    | 3,600        | f |
| Great Dismal Swamp, my dividend<br>thereof,                                     | 373    | 8        | 2,984        | g |
| Ohio River, Round Bottom,                                                       |        |          | about 20,000 | h |
| Little Kenhawa,                                                                 | 587    |          |              |   |
| Sixteen miles lower down,                                                       | 2314   |          |              |   |
| Opposite Big Bent,                                                              | 2448   |          |              |   |
|                                                                                 | 4395   |          |              |   |
|                                                                                 | 9744   | 10       | 97,440       | i |

\* It appears that the testator omitted the word "nine."

|                       | Acres. | Price.   |          |          |
|-----------------------|--------|----------|----------|----------|
|                       |        | Dollars. | Dollars. |          |
| Great Kenhawa,        |        |          |          |          |
| Near the mouth, west, | 10990  |          |          |          |
| East side, above,     | 7276   |          |          |          |
| Mouth of Cole River,  | 2000   |          |          |          |
| Opposite thereto,     | 2950   |          |          |          |
| Burning Spring,       | 125    |          |          |          |
|                       | <hr/>  | 3075     |          |          |
|                       |        | <hr/>    | 200,000  | <i>k</i> |

## MARYLAND.

|                    |     |    |       |          |
|--------------------|-----|----|-------|----------|
| Charles County,    | 600 | 6  | 3,600 | <i>l</i> |
| Montgomery County, | 519 | 12 | 6,228 | <i>m</i> |

## PENNSYLVANIA.

|                |     |   |       |          |
|----------------|-----|---|-------|----------|
| Great Meadows, | 234 | 6 | 1,404 | <i>n</i> |
|----------------|-----|---|-------|----------|

## NEW YORK.

|               |            |   |       |          |
|---------------|------------|---|-------|----------|
| Mohawk River, | about 1000 | 6 | 6,000 | <i>o</i> |
|---------------|------------|---|-------|----------|

## NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

|                  |       |   |        |          |
|------------------|-------|---|--------|----------|
| On Little Miami, | 839   |   |        |          |
| Ditto,           | 977   |   |        |          |
| Ditto,           | 1235  |   |        |          |
|                  | <hr/> |   |        |          |
|                  | 3051  | 5 | 15,255 | <i>p</i> |

## KENTUCKY.

|                   |       |   |        |          |
|-------------------|-------|---|--------|----------|
| Rough Creek,      | 3000  |   |        |          |
| Ditto, adjoining, | 2000  |   |        |          |
|                   | <hr/> |   |        |          |
|                   | 5000  | 2 | 10,000 | <i>q</i> |

## LOTS.

## CITY OF WASHINGTON.

|                                                                                                                                              |        |          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|----------|
| Two near the Capitol, Square 634, cost 963 dollars, and with buildings,                                                                      | 15,000 | <i>r</i> |
| Nos. 5, 12, 13, and 14, the last three water lots on the Eastern Branch, in Square 667, containing together 34,438 square feet, at 12 cents, | 4,132  |          |

## ALEXANDRIA.

|                                                                                                                                                        | Dollars. |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---|
| Corner of Pitt and Prince streets, half an acre laid out into building lots, three or four of which are let on ground rent, at three dollars per foot, | 4,000    | t |

## WINCHESTER.

|                                                                                              |     |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---|
| A lot in the town, of half an acre, and another on the common, of about six acres, supposed, | 400 | u |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---|

## BATH, OR WARM SPRINGS.

|                                                                  |     |   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---|
| Two well-situated and handsome buildings, to the amount of £150, | 800 | v |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---|

## STOCK.

|                                                       |         |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------|---|
| United States 6 per cent.                             | 3,746   |   |
| Ditto, deferred,                                      | 1,873   |   |
| Ditto, 3 per cent.                                    | 2,946   |   |
|                                                       | — 2,500 |   |
|                                                       | 6,246   | w |
| Potomac Company, 24 shares, cost each £100 sterling,  | 10,666  | x |
| James River Company, 5 shares, each cost 100 dollars, | 500     | y |
| Bank of Columbia, 170 shares, 40 dollars each,        | 6,800   | } |
| Bank of Alexandria,                                   | 1,000   |   |
| Besides 20 shares in the free school—5.               |         | z |

## STOCK LIVING.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| One covering horse, 5 carriage horses, 4 riding horses, 6 brood mares, 20 working horses and mares, 2 covering jacks and 3 young ones, 10 she-asses, 42 working mules, 15 younger ones, 329 head of horned cattle, 640 head of sheep, and a large stock of hogs, the precise number unknown. My manager has estimated this live stock at £7000; but I shall set it down, in order to make a round sum, at | 15,653 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|

Aggregate amount, \$530,000

## NOTES.

(a) This tract, for the size of it, is valuable, more for its situation than the quality of its soil ; though that is good for farming, with a considerable proportion of ground that might very easily be improved into meadow. It lies on the great road from the city of Washington, Alexandria, and Georgetown, to Leesburg and Winchester, at Difficult Bridge, nineteen miles from Alexandria, less from the city of Georgetown, and not more than three from Matildaville, at the Great Falls of Potomac. There is a valuable seat on the premises, and the whole is conditionally sold for the sum annexed in the schedule.

(b) What the selling prices of lands in the vicinity of these two tracts are, I know not ; but, compared with those above the Ridge, and others below them, the value annexed will appear moderate ; a less one would not obtain them from me.

(c) The surrounding land, not superior in soil, situation, or properties of any sort, sells currently at from twenty to thirty dollars an acre. The lowest price is affixed to these.

(d) The observations made in the last note apply equally to this tract ; being in the vicinity of them, and of similar quality, although it lies in another county.

(e) This tract, though small, is extremely valuable. It lies on Potomac River, about twelve miles above the town of Bath, or Warm Springs, and is in the shape of a horseshoe ; the river running almost around it. Two hundred acres of it are rich low grounds, with a great abundance of the largest and finest walnut trees ; which, with the produce of the soil, might (by means of the improved navigation of the Potomac) be brought to a shipping port with more ease, and at a smaller expense, than that which is transported thirty miles only by land.

(f) This tract is of second-rate Gloucester low ground. It has no improvements thereon, but lies on navigable water, abounding in fish and oysters. It was received in payment of a debt, (carrying interest,) and valued in the year 1789, by an impartial gentleman, at £800. N. B. It has lately been sold, and there is due thereon a balance, equal to what is annexed in the schedule.

(g) These 373 acres are the third part of an undivided purchase made by the deceased Fielding Lewis, Thomas Walker, and myself, on full conviction that they would become valuable. The land lies on the road from Suffolk and Norfolk, touches (if I am not mistaken) some part of the navigable water of Nansemond River. The rich Dismal Swamp is capable of great improvement, and from its situation must become extremely valuable.

(h) This is an undivided interest, which I hold in the Great Dismal Swamp Company, containing about 4000 acres, with my part of the plantation and stock thereon, belonging to the Company in the said swamp.

(i) These several tracts of land are of the first quality, on the Ohio River, in the parts where they are situated ; being almost, if not altogether, river bottoms. The smallest of these tracts is actually sold at ten dollars an acre, but the consideration therefor not received. The

rest are equally valuable, and sold as high ; especially that which lies just below the Little Kenhawa, and is opposite to a thick settlement on the west side of the river. The four tracts have an aggregate breadth upon the river, of sixteen miles, and are bounded thereby for that distance.

(k) These tracts are situated on the Great Kenhawa River, and the first four are bounded thereby for more than forty miles. It is acknowledged by all who have seen them, (and of the tract containing 10,990 acres, which I have been on myself, I can assert,) that there is no richer or more valuable land in all that region. They are conditionally sold for the sum mentioned in the schedule, that is, 200,000 dollars ; and, if the terms of that sale are not complied with, they will command considerably more. The tract, of which the 125 acres is a moiety, was taken up by General Andrew Lewis and myself, for and on account of a bituminous spring which it contains, of so inflammable a nature as to burn as freely as spirits, and is nearly as difficult to extinguish.

(l) I am but little acquainted with this land, although I have once been on it. It was received (many years since) in discharge of a debt to me from Daniel Jenifer Adams, at the value annexed thereto, and must be worth more. It is very level ; lies near the River Potomac.

(m) This tract lies about thirty miles above the city of Washington, not far from Kittoctan. It is good farming land ; and, by those who are well acquainted with it, I am informed that it would sell at twelve or fifteen dollars per acre.

(n) This land is valuable on account of its local situation, and other properties. It affords an exceeding good stand on Braddock's Road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburg, and, besides a fertile soil, possesses a large quantity of natural meadow, fit for the scythe. It is distinguished by the appellation of the Great Meadows, where the first action with the French in 1754 was fought.

(o) This is the moiety of about 2000 acres, which remains unsold of 6071 acres on the Mohawk River, (Montgomery County,) in a patent granted to Daniel Coxe, in the township of Coxborough and Carolina, as will appear by deed from Marinus Willett and wife to George Clinton, late governor of New York, and myself. The latter sales have been at six dollars an acre, and what remains unsold will fetch that or more.

(p) The quality of these lands, and their situations, may be known by the surveyor's certificates, which are filed along with the patents. They lie in the vicinity of Cincinnati ; one tract near the mouth of the Little Miami ; another seven, and the third ten miles up the same. I have been informed that they will command more than they are estimated at.

(q) For the description of these tracts in detail, see General Spotswood's letters, filed with the other papers relating to them. Besides the general good quality of the land, there is a valuable bank of iron ore thereon, which, when the settlement becomes more populous, (and settlers are moving that way very fast,) will be found very valuable, as the Rough Creek, a branch of Green River, affords ample water for furnaces and forges.



## LOTS.

## CITY OF WASHINGTON.

(*r*) The two lots near the Capitol, in square 634, cost me 963 dollars only. But in this price I was favored, on condition that I should build two brick houses, three stories high each. Without this reduction, the selling prices of those lots would have cost me about 1350 dollars. These lots, with the buildings thereon, when completed, will stand me in 15,000 dollars at least.

(*s*) Lots Nos. 5, 12, 13, and 14, on the Eastern Branch, are advantageously situated on the water ; and, although many lots, much less convenient, have sold a great deal higher, I will rate these at 12 cents the square foot only.

## ALEXANDRIA.

(*t*) For this lot, though unimproved, I have refused 3500 dollars. It has since been laid out into proper-sized lots for building on ; three or four of which are let on ground rent for ever, at three dollars a foot on the street, and this price is asked for both fronts on Pitt and Prince streets.

## WINCHESTER.

(*u*) As neither the lot in the town or common have any improvements on them, it is not easy to fix a price ; but, as both are well situated, it is presumed that the price annexed to them in the schedule is a reasonable valuation.

## BATH.

(*v*) The lots in Bath (two adjoining) cost me, to the best of my recollection, between fifty and sixty pounds, twenty years ago ; and the buildings thereon, one hundred and fifty pounds more. Whether property there has increased or decreased in its value, and in what condition the houses are, I am ignorant ; but suppose they are not valued too high.

## STOCK.

(*w*) These are the sums which are actually funded ; and though no more in the aggregate than 7566 dollars, stand me in at least ten thousand pounds, Virginia money ; being the amount of bonded and other debts due to me, and discharged during the war, when money had depreciated in that rate,—[£] and was so settled by public authority.

(*x*) The value annexed to these shares is what they have actually cost me, and is the price affixed by law ; and, although the present selling price is under par, my advice to the legatees (for whose benefit they are intended, especially those who can afford to lie out of the money,) is, that each should take and hold one ; there being a moral certainty of a great and increasing profit arising from them in the course of a few years.

(*y*) It is supposed that the shares in the James River Company

must be productive. But of this I can give no decided opinion, for want of more accurate information.

(z) These are the nominal prices of the shares in the Banks of Alexandria and Columbia. The selling prices vary, according to circumstances ; but, as the stocks usually divide from eight to ten per cent per annum, they must be worth the former, at least, so long as the banks are conceived to be secure, although, from circumstances, they may sometimes be below it.

The value of the live stock depends more upon the quality than quantity of the different species of it ; and this, again, upon the demand, and judgement or fancy of purchasers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*Mount Vernon, July 9, 1799.*

The following is found inscribed on the back of a picture frame containing a miniature of Washington, hanging in one of the rooms of the mansion at Mount Vernon.

WASHINGTON,  
THE DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY, THE FOUNDER OF LIBERTY,  
THE FRIEND OF MAN.  
HISTORY AND TRADITION ARE EXPLORED IN VAIN  
FOR A PARALLEL TO HIS CHARACTER.  
IN THE ANNALS OF MODERN GREATNESS,  
HE STANDS ALONE,  
AND THE NOBLEST NAMES OF ANTIQUITY  
LOSE THEIR LUSTRE IN HIS PRESENCE.  
BORN THE BENEFACITOR OF MANKIND,  
HE UNITED ALL THE QUALITIES NECESSARY  
TO AN ILLUSTRIOUS CAREER.  
NATURE MADE HIM GREAT,  
HE MADE HIMSELF VIRTUOUS.  
CALLED BY HIS COUNTRY TO THE DEFENCE OF HER LIBERTIES,  
HE TRIUMPHANTLY VINDICATED THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY,  
AND ON THE PILLARS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE  
LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF A GREAT REPUBLIC.  
TWICE INVESTED WITH SUPREME MAGISTRACY  
BY THE UNANIMOUS VOICE OF A FREE PEOPLE,  
HE SURPASSED IN THE CABINET  
THE GLORIES OF THE FIELD,  
AND, VOLUNTARILY RESIGNING THE SCEPTRE AND THE SWORD,  
RETIRED TO THE SHADES OF PRIVATE LIFE.  
A SPECTACLE SO NEW AND SO SUBLIME  
WAS CONTEMPLATED WITH THE PROFOUNDTEST ADMIRATION;  
AND THE NAME OF WASHINGTON,  
ADDING NEW LUSTRE TO HUMANITY,  
REOUNDED TO THE REMOTEST REGIONS OF THE EARTH.  
MAGNANIMOUS IN YOUTH,  
GLORIOUS THROUGH LIFE,  
GREAT IN DEATH,  
HIS HIGHEST AMBITION THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND,  
HIS NOBLEST VICTORY THE CONQUEST OF HIMSELF,  
BEQUEATHING TO POSTERITY THE INHERITANCE OF HIS FAME,  
AND BUILDING HIS MONUMENT IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN,  
HE LIVED THE ORNAMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,  
HE DIED REGRETTED BY A MOURNING WORLD.

## A GLOSSARY

OF SUCH WORDS AND PHRASES AS MAY NOT EASILY BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE YOUNG READER.

MANY WORDS, NEEDING EXPLANATION, HAVING ALREADY BEEN EXPLAINED IN THE GLOSSARY TO VOL. I., ARE NOT HERE REPEATED.

*Alienate*, to transfer title to property, from one to another ; or to estrange, or render hostile.

*Amnesty*, a general pardon of offences, by the government, or ruling power ; an act of oblivion.

*Arable*, land fit for ploughing, or tillage.

*Bailiff*, an officer appointed by a sheriff to execute his authority ; an under-sheriff.

*Belligerent*, a nation, power, or state, carrying on war ; also, warlike, or disposed to make war.

*Bequest*, property left by will ; a legacy.

*Bottom-land*, low ground ; particularly low, level grounds, or lands adjoining rivers.

*Bout*, a round in ploughing ; a tour across a field and back again to the same place.

*Burnet*, a plant.

*Cabinet*, the select council of an executive government ; the official persons constituting such council.

*Caliber*, the bore of a gun, the diameter of the barrel in which it receives its charge.

*Candidate*, a person put up for office, or seeking to be elected to an office.

*Census*, an enumeration of the inhabitants of a country, made in obedience to the public authority.

*Collateral*, persons descended from the same original ancestor, but by a different branch.

*College*, (Electoral.) By the Constitution of the United States, the President and Vice-President are chosen by a certain number of persons, elected for that purpose, in the several States. When these Electors are assembled, in their respective States, to give their votes, they are called a College, or Electoral College.

*Confederation*, the name given to the United States of America previous to the formation of the Federal Union.

*Coulter*, the front iron of a plough, which, with a sharp edge, and with a slanting face, cuts and separates the ground.

- Coup*, a sudden blow ; a decisive attack.
- Couteau*, (plural *couteaux*,) a knife, a hanger, a small sword.
- Devise*, to give or bequeath by will ; also, the act of bequeathing, or the property bequeathed.
- Douceur*, a present, gift, or bribe.
- Drill*, in husbandry, to sow grain in rows, with a machine called a drill-plough.
- Drought*, dryness of the weather, and the effect produced by it on the soil, in preventing the growth of plants.
- Emancipate*, to deliver and give up, from slavery ; to set free.
- Embrasure*, an opening or porthole in a parapet, through which to point a gun.
- Emporium*, a place where trade and commerce collect ; a place of gathering ; a centre of business.
- Envoy*, a public messenger, minister, or ambassador.
- Excise*, a duty or tax laid upon goods, in the country, whether imported or raised at home. An *import* duty is a tax laid upon goods, on coming into the country ; an *export* duty is a tax laid upon goods, on being taken out of the country.
- Executors*, persons appointed to carry a will into effect.
- Fascine*, a fagot, a bundle of rods, or sticks, or brush.
- Federal Union*, or *Federal Government*, the political establishment and organization of the United States of America, under their present Constitution,—the States being considered as united into one Nation, and, at the same time, as maintaining towards each other the relations of partners to a league, or confederation, or compact.
- Fee-simple*, an estate held by a person in his own right, he having a complete title and possession, and the estate descending to his heirs or assigns.
- Finesse*, artifice, stratagem, cunning contrivance.
- Flotilla*, a fleet of small vessels.
- Freehold*, an estate held by undivided and unconditional right.
- Gabion*, a temporary cover or barrier, raised in front of besiegers, to protect them in their approaches, or placed on the top of a parapet, as a shelter for the defendants, while firing over it.
- Haversack*, a bag, made of strong, coarse linen, to carry bread and other provisions, on a march.
- Howitzer*, a kind of mortar ; a short cannon, with a large bore or barrel, mounted upon a field-carriage, with its trunnions in the middle, and not at the end, as in a mortar.
- In statu quo*, the previous condition of a person, or thing.
- Insurgent*, a rebel, one rising against authority.
- Items*, particular articles in an account.
- Judiciary*, the system of courts of justice and law, in a country.
- Lieu*, or *in lieu of*, in the place of, or in the room of.
- Loam*, a species of earth or soil, of different colors ; a mixture of sand and clay.
- Manumit*, to give freedom to a slave ; to liberate from bonds.
- Maritime*, pertaining to the sea ; a nation having a naval force and a commerce, is called a maritime nation.
- Marl*, a species of earth, in which there is more or less lime mixed

with various other ingredients, and which has a very fertilizing effect on the soil.

**Merlins**, handspikes.

**Munitions**, whatever materials are used in war ; including, sometimes, the provisions and stores of an army, or navy.

**Negotiation**, the arrangement and settlement of matters between nations, by discussion and agreement.

**Net**. *Net* profit is clear and absolute profit, after all outlays, and charges of every kind, have been met and paid off ; *net* weight is the weight of an article, exclusive of the vessel or vehicle in which it is contained, and of all other usual deductions.

**Neutrality**, the abstaining from taking part in a contest between others ; standing aloof from a contest, and being at peace with both parties ; sometimes the combination of neutral nations is called a *neutrality*.

**Palladium**, something that affords effectual defence, protection, and safety.

**Parallels**, at a siege, are the trenches, or lines, made to correspond with the defences.

**Paramount**, superior to, of higher authority.

**Patrole**, a small party of soldiers, employed as a watch, to examine and visit the different sections, streets, and points, of a garrison, or town, or place of encampment.

**Pike**, an offensive weapon, consisting of a wooden shaft from six to twenty feet long, with a flat and pointed steel head.

**Plenipotentiary**, an ambassador to a foreign court, clothed with full power.

**Pro tempore**, literally, "for a time." A person occupying an office only for a short time, in the occasional absence of its proper incumbent, is said to occupy it *pro tempore*.

**Pulverize**, to reduce to the state of powder.

**Refugee**, a person, who, in times of commotion or danger, flies to a foreign country, for safety.

**Revenue**, the annual income of a person, a company, or a nation.

**Sainfoin**, a plant, cultivated for fodder.

**Sally**, to go privately and unexpectedly out of a besieged place, and fall suddenly upon the besiegers, for the purpose of checking, repelling, or otherwise damaging them.

**Schedule**, a paper containing a list of any articles, or particulars ; a paper, or written instrument, attached to another.

**Sequestration**, the act of seizing an estate from a delinquent, for the use of the State.

**Shells**, hollow iron balls, filled with powder, and so prepared, that, after being thrown a certain distance, from howitzers or mortars they will explode.

**Sheriff**, an officer, in each county, to whom is intrusted the execution of the laws.

**Site**, situation ; local position ; the ground on which any structure or object is placed.

**Sortie**, of a similar meaning with *Sally*.

**Staple**, a principal commodity or production of a country ; the particular substance or original quality of a soil.

*Suite*, retinue, a train or company of followers and attendants of an eminent person.

*Surplus*, excess beyond what is used ; what can be spared ; they who are not needed at home, and go elsewhere.

*Tariff*, the list or table of duties or customs, to be paid on goods, imported or exported. In a military sense, a classification of officers and troops, according to their rank and relative importance, so as to determine on a system of exchanges.

*Tautology*, a needless repetition of the same thing, in different words or phrases.

*Testator*, one who makes and leaves a will.

*Tillage*, the preparing of land for planting and raising crops.

*Tilth*, the state of being tilled or prepared, for receiving seed.

*Trunnions*, of a cannon, are two knobs which project from opposite sides of the piece, and serve to support it on the carriage.

*Tussocks*, tufts.

*Vetches*, pulse, or leguminous plants, such as peas, beans, &c.

*Water-craft*, small vessels, or boats.

*Yagers*, troops in German armies, corresponding to *chasseurs* in the French, or *riflemen* in the American, armies.

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